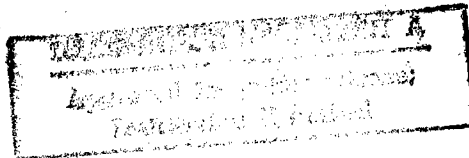


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 April 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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FUTURE CRISES IN EAST EUROPE ASSESSED

Paris POLITIQUE ETRANGERE in French Oct-Dec 83 pp 933-946

[Pseudonymous article by "S. Kartveli": "The East European Economic System in the Second Half of the Eighties: Learning to Live With Depression"]

[Text] At the start of 1984 there is hardly a glimmer of hope in Eastern Europe's economic situation. To be sure, the heaviest prospective burdens--of economic collapse, financial bankruptcy, and societal outburst--seem to have been lifted, and that is due mainly to Western aid: Hungary has gotten new IMF credits, Yugoslavia has obtained loans from a bank consortium, Romania has been able to renegotiate its debt, and the rescheduling of Poland's debt is now only a question of time and agreement on terms. For its part, the GDR has been loaned 1 billion marks by West German banks in spite of the East-West tension produced by the deployment of Euromissiles. Thus, the period of Western sanctions, or more precisely the period of restrictions on Western credit which followed Poland's 13 December, seems to be coming to an end. Since the main obstacle to economic recovery is thereby disappearing, if one goes by what the East European leaders believe, one can expect general recovery.

However, the distinctive features of the situation in Eastern Europe are such that while sudden collapse has been averted the recovery theory no longer seems very likely to be borne out. For in actual fact the structural and systemic causes of Eastern Europe's economic depression, which dates from the second half of the 1970's and not from 1981, are far from having disappeared.

A "Stuck" Economic System

Going beyond the situational aspects of the domestic economies and the international economic fluctuations which partially explain the intensity and simultaneity of the East European slumps, analysis reveals structural elements common to all the countries which argue against the optimistic thesis that the depression is a short-lived or transitional one.

## The Obsolescence of Industrial Plant

It is probably too frequently observed that the Polish economic slump can be attributed to a spendthrift policy of massive investments financed by foreign credits. While that observation is partially true, it would tend to make one think that modernization and expansion of industrial plant has actually taken place. Whereas the facts have been otherwise: where industrial plant has been replaced it has been done haphazardly and without easing the import situation. Thus, to use a definition Basile Kerblay applied to the USSR, by the end of the 1970's Eastern Europe had in its turn become "the land of unfinished work sites." And alongside these unfinished work sites swallowing up investment, industrial plant has been abandoned, gradually becoming obsolete. This phenomenon has occurred everywhere, and it has been particularly noticeable in Czechoslovakia but also in the GDR and in Yugoslavia. So the East European countries tackled the beginning of the 1980's and the worsening economic slump with industrial plant that was already out-of-date.

In this worrisome context there have been two especially harmful trends: the effort started 4 or 5 years ago to reduce the overall amount of investment; and the marked shift within the structure of investment, with a reduction in the share devoted to machinery and capital goods.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, industrial modernization and the very preservation of the fabric of industry for the end of this decade are in jeopardy.

This is the case especially since imports, and first and foremost imports of machinery and capital goods, have been greatly cut back in all East European countries, in order to reduce (with, by the way, some success) their external payments deficits. So it is only reasonable to wonder about the capacities of those economies for medium-term recovery.

The stagnation in investment has had another consequence, which is just as worrisome because its effect has been to jeopardize a certain number of projects intended to fill the gaps caused by current shortages and, in particular, intended to lessen energy dependence (thus, Czechoslovakia's nuclear power industry has fallen behind, and so has the drilling in Romania of new oil wells which are said to require more sophisticated equipment).

Howsoever the Western stance on credits may change, a matter we will come back to later, it does, moreover, appear that the East European leaders have learned the lessons of the Polish affair and that in future they will probably manage to avoid letting themselves get carried away by a relaxed policy on investment and excessive dependence on foreign imports. Those two policy features do not seem to necessarily be transitory in nature.

Therefore, the result of all the foregoing factors is that industrial production capacity for the end of this decade is being jeopardized today, and a correction in this area could bear fruit only in a later timeframe. The only country which might be an exception to this<sup>2</sup> is the GDR; in spite of a reduction in its total investment in 1982 it devoted 16 percent of its investment budget to microelectronics and robotics, attempting to get increased labor productivity out of that.

### The Unsolvable Problem of Labor Productivity

The low productivity of capital could in fact be offset or at least counter-balanced to an extent only by a big increase in the productivity of labor and a transition to intensive growth taking into account the scarcity of raw materials, capital and manpower. Following the example of the Soviet model, the East European economies aren't avoiding the experience of a lack of growth in their working populations<sup>3</sup> in conjunction with declining labor productivity.<sup>4</sup> Labor productivity has always been an obsession of socialist economies, and they have never had anything but poor results in that area in spite of the application of varying mixtures of ideological encouragement, coercion (especially in the USSR), and material incentives, occupational incentives (the Hungarian reform), and social incentives (opportunities for rapid social advancement during the first 15 years following World War II). /However, these stimulatory elements gradually disappeared/[in italics], since political resources (means of repression) and financial resources (authorities now suspect financial incentives have an inflationary effect) and even social incentives (frozen advancement is a common feature of the post-Stalin societies) have eroded. /They can still be used but only on an isolated basis/[in italics]. The Polish "mining miracle" situation is instructive in this regard, since the revival in coal exports was due to the substantial productivity increase in that sector (simultaneous increases in hours, wages, and coercion). But we are talking about a limited and short-lived phenomenon:

- limited because the authorities don't have the financial resources to extend the privileged circumstances of the miners to other categories of workers, and because it is by definition difficult to militarize other industrial sectors in which production is not by its nature as susceptible to control since it cannot be expressed in terms of purely quantitative norms;<sup>5</sup>
- short-lived because the intensive utilization of factors of production (not just men but also machinery) gets translated into accelerated attrition, a higher number of work accidents (up twofold in one year) and, most of all, a higher production cost.

So in the long run one can hardly expect a lasting recovery in labor productivity, though that does not rule out improvements isolated in terms of time and localized in terms of place. That is the case especially since developments in

labor productivity in Eastern Europe are in a more profound sense an expression of an /attitude of distrust vis-a-vis the political and economic authorities/ [in italics]. Hence the Polish economy is affected much more by the rift between society and government than by Western sanctions or the past decade's economic mistakes.

Only genuine decentralization of responsibility, reinstatement of skill and efficiency criteria, and a certain minimum of political reforms could thoroughly alter people's mental attitudes and partially restore confidence and the desire to participate in national efforts.

#### "Unobtainable" Reform

The East European slump will have had an unquestionably beneficial effect in that throughout the region it has revived the perception of the need to take up the reform plans again that the period of growth and detente in the 1970's had tended to defer.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, /since the 1979-1980 timeframe embryos of reform have been seen hatching all over the place/[in italics]. In the GDR new legislation (at the start of 1982) has been directed toward establishing industrial combines with greater autonomy. In Bulgaria the economic "reform"<sup>7</sup> which was introduced in small steps starting in 1979 also provides for expanding the autonomy of factories and economic enterprises but only to the extent of varying 20 percent from plan figures. The other dominant features of the Bulgarian change in direction are price subsidy reduction (with consequent price hikes of 30-50 percent), and a greater emphasis on efficiency and on productivity and on private plots in agriculture. Even in Czechoslovakia "a series of measures" took effect on 1 January 1981 which provides for material incentives, authorization for an enterprise to utilize its own funds to modernize, and incentives for economic operation of equipment, but we are talking about only a mini-reform since neither genuine decentralization nor the introduction of market mechanisms are provided for. In Poland economic reform is still at a purely theoretical stage but runs pretty far along the path of autonomy and devolution of responsibility upon enterprises. Also, the increase in prices there of nearly 150 percent in 2 years is aimed at establishing less artificiality in pricing. Lastly, Hungary and Yugoslavia are definitely the two countries most advanced along the path of economic reformism, and, while the new measures introduced in 1983<sup>8</sup> are continuing in the direction of decentralizing decisionmaking and responsibility, they do not go as far as do the recommendations of structural reform theoreticians who increasingly link more thoroughgoing reform with the need to modify certain political mechanisms.

Now that's where the shoe pinches. This reform, which more than ever before is probably perceived to be necessary by the majority of Eastern European leaders in high office, comes up against a certain number of /obstacles of a political and social nature/[in italics]:

- The political and economic vulnerability of Eastern European governments is growing, which makes them much more dependent on their rank-and-file supporters represented by low-level party cadres, who, logically speaking, would probably bear the brunt of a reform which reasserted the value of skills and decentralized responsibility.
- The reform dynamics do not move in the same direction as the political dynamics (the hardening of the regimes), and often there are contradictions between economic measures and laws governing society. Thus, in Poland the freedom for enterprises to hire and fire, the foremost element in autonomy, bumps up against the recent law on social parasitism (and besides, even in the absence of formal legislation, it would seem difficult to call into question the guarantee of employment, which is one of the last remaining reasons for supporting the system--a system still fully functioning).
- In this context it is particularly difficult for economies which are all experiencing stagnation if not reduction in living standards (especially in Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Poland) to impose reforms which carry with them further sacrifices (price hikes, wage reduction, possible unemployment . . .). The lesson of the Polish slump is to encourage all the East European regimes to avoid overly constraining economic measures, the concern being to avoid an August 1980-type complication. As a preventive measure attempts have been made everywhere to improve the running of trade unions somewhat in order to avert demands, which could in return hinder activity on the part of the authorities (particularly with regard to factory closings in Hungary, for example).
- Lastly, there can be no thorough and general reform in today's Eastern Europe without that movement being initiated in the USSR. However, the signals that have come out of Moscow remain ambivalent to say the least: there is awareness of the need to act but the actual measures are extraordinarily cautious and limited,<sup>9</sup> and, above all, have not been accompanied by any sign of political reformism (but rather, on the contrary, by more coercive political, ideological, and cultural discipline).

Based on the foregoing elements, one might attempt to make a prediction as to /the future of economic reforms in Eastern Europe/[in italics] for the decade which is underway: /there will be more of them and they will be more widespread/[in italics] (it is hard to see any country being able to completely avoid

change); /they are bound to remain limited both in their implementation and in their consequences/[in italics]; and, there is hardly any chance they will find themselves going hand in hand with thoroughgoing change in the political and social context.<sup>10</sup> The reforms will no doubt make it possible to overcome certain inflexibilities and improve certain economic performance data (the easiest most likely being in the agriculture sector, in which the expansion of private plots would make obvious results possible), but reform is nowhere in sight which would respond to the challenge set by the socialist economy's structural depression and which would be able to ensure more than quasi-stagnation in economic growth.

In conclusion, /little by way of spectacular change should be expected in Eastern Europe during the coming years/[in italics]. The dominating features will probably be:

- /increased levelling as among the various countries of living conditions and economic data/[in italics]--growth differentials which still exist today should disappear;
- /isolated variations/[in italics] which will reflect experimentation and the negative or positive effects of this or that reform; and,
- /the maintenance of a high level of social tension/[in italics] which will probably lead to alternations between liberalizing and hardening gestures, both political and economic, on the part of the authorities.

In any event, nothing in the domestic economic situations and anticipated changes in them enables one to predict either collapse or genuine recovery, and the East European economic system is bound to be a "stuck" system.

#### The Eastward Integration/Opening to the West Dilemma

Looking at this frozen situation, many analysts have a tendency to see no possible way out of it except by going outside Eastern Europe, with the alternatives presenting themselves in a somewhat simplistic fashion: more extensive integration; or, turning to Western aid for stimulus. However, it must be observed that those two options, which simultaneously or by turns proved to be beneficial in the past, are no longer able to offer a lasting solution to Eastern Europe's slump.

Integration in Soviet camp terms, which Eastern European governments often hold over the heads of their Western trading partners as a form of blackmail--"Help us keep from falling into the arms of the Soviets"--, /is more a reality than a possibility, but it is a very limited reality/[in italics].

An initial indication of this is definitely given by the foreign trade figures. They show for all East European countries an eastward refocusing which is particularly noticeable for the ones which had been most open to the West (Poland,<sup>11</sup> Romania<sup>12</sup>) but also perceptible for the others. Bulgaria saw the USSR share of its trade go from 51.6 percent in 1981 to 54 percent in 1982. Yugoslavia (additional oil purchases in 1983) and Hungary (contracts entered into at the time of Kadar's August 1983 visit) have themselves increased their trade with the USSR while massively cutting imports from the West and the Third World.<sup>13</sup> To be sure, that trend can be seen as a consequence of the Polish crisis and the desire of those countries to reduce their level of foreign currency indebtedness.

But in actual fact, the trend toward strengthening bilateral ties with the USSR started as early as the 1975-1976 period, initially with the establishment of convertible ruble accounts and with the USSR's rapid imposition on its partners of the requirement to make good their bilateral deficits by exports of semi-finished goods (these quite often being Western imports) to the USSR. More recently the USSR has required its partners to offset their energy imports by participation in the building of Soviet infrastructure (supplying equipment and, above all, technicians and manpower lacking in the USSR). The increased number of industrial cooperation agreements between the USSR and its partners is the consequence not so much of Western sanctions as of a policy pursued by the USSR for several years, which policy, it is true, the East European countries found difficult to oppose after the 1980-1981 period.

But the effects of that policy have /limited impacts/[in italics] on the East European economies. Firstly, integration itself has its limits. Limits in the context of Soviet policy which prefers to sacrifice the energy needs of the USSR's partners rather than its foreign exchange receipts (thus, in 1982 the proportion of exported oil versus foreign exchange increased 50 percent, partly through reduction in oil shipment to certain East European countries such as the GDR and Czechoslovakia). Limits because the 15 year-old opening to the West has altered East European industrial plant, and reconversion (so that it could be supplied with Soviet raw materials and semi-finished goods) cannot be done rapidly and would require investment, which is becoming scarce.

The limits to integration and Soviet aid have come very clearly to light in the Poland situation. While socialist economic solidarity was in full operation in post-1956 Hungary and post-1968 Czechoslovakia, thereby making it possible to provide the material conditions for normalization, aid to Poland was much more modest on the part of both the USSR and the other partners in its camp.

For the USSR it was a matter above all of allowing Poland to maintain a 1 billion dollar long term debt at a low rate of interest. The USSR also consented to Poland's shipping out raw material allowances in excess of



its quota, but with the commitment to turn over to the USSR 50 percent of the output thereby obtained (compared to the previous 15 percent)! Likewise extra deliveries to Poland of energy products would have to be offset by Polish export of services and knowhow for the construction of natural gas pipelines.

Solidarity on the part of the other partners in the Soviet camp has been even more lacking, demonstrated initially by the complaints about a Poland unable to fulfil its coal export quotas and hence disrupting its neighbors' economies, and then by how little enthusiasm there was to respond to Polish offers of cooperation on worksites in Poland.

One cannot measure any beneficial effects of integration in terms of either growth figures or improved living standards or modernization of industrial plant.

The Polish example shows how turning to integration and multilateral socialist aid is not enough to get an economy back on its feet. The East European economies cannot do without the lifebuoy of the Soviets and their allies, but bilateral or multilateral integration offers no real way out of the structural slump.

The judgment made by the Polish economist Dobrocynski<sup>14</sup> on socialist integration could be applied to all these countries: "independently of our wishes and desires, the export capacities of the socialist states--especially for the group of commodities we need the most--is limited." It is, moreover, this perception of limits which explains why in spite of the international background the USSR did not veto Hungary's entry into the IMF, which followed that of Romania and probably will be followed by that of Poland.

After the USSR's having borne a high economic cost for maintaining its political domination over Eastern Europe, everything that is happening looks as if now the USSR were attempting to preserve intact its political leverage and its control over its East European partners while limiting the economic costs and agreeing to share the burden with the West up to a certain threshold (beyond which Western political influence would become a nuisance). This sharing of the burden has certain worrisome consequences, but it will not necessarily be called into question in principle even though it may well be questioned in terms of its extent.

Just as a certain amount of integration remains imperative, the opening to the West looks like it also will not have to be jeopardized. Contrary to certain extreme forecasts, there is not going to be any collapse of Western credits. The rescheduling of the Romanian debt, and soon that of the Polish debt, and the unfreezing of bank credit to Yugoslavia are sufficient demonstration of the West's desire not to instigate a serious financial crisis which could

serve as a precedent for other areas of the world with even greater indebtedness and which could jeopardize the stability of Europe as a whole.

Besides, the efforts made to reduce indebtedness (and especially drastic import reduction) in most East European countries resulted in sizable deficit reductions, which made the countries less worrisome financial risks and thereby restored a certain amount of credibility.

Lastly, the European economic context is such that there can be no question for most economies with involvements in the East of giving up markets, even if those markets have become very much smaller. The 1 billion mark credit for the GDR agreed to by Bavarian banks clearly shows this concern (coupled in the German case with political considerations). In addition it should be noted that for certain European countries which are running large deficits Eastern Europe is a means for offsetting that deficit somewhat, although that may mean financing it with credits.

Therefore, the trade and financial flows between Western and Eastern Europe will probably pick up and find themselves increased by multilateral (IMF, EEC-CEMA, etc.) flows. That does not mean that those credits might be better able in the future than they have been in the past to bring solutions to the organization and production problems in the East European economies. They will probably be less able to do so than in the past, considering the new constraints and the need for those credits to be used for essential imports, hence initially for food imports or spare parts and not for plant modernization: /Western aid in the 1980's will probably be more like a palliative for the slump than a tool for getting over it/[in italics].

So everything is occurring as if Eastern Europe were finding itself faced not by a dilemma of integration versus opening-to-the-West alternatives but with an inflexible equilibrium in which the degree of integration cannot go very much over a certain threshold, in spite of the ideological imperatives, and in which the degree of opening westward cannot go very much below a certain threshold or else economic survival itself would be endangered.

The new element for Eastern Europe's economic future is that Eastern and Western "aid," which is now more modest and increasingly less effective in dealing with slump conditions, will nevertheless paradoxically create greater ties of dependence than in the past.

## Towards Soviet "Neocolonialism"?

After a period of breakdown in Eastern Europe's industrial fabric, its countries were the beneficiaries (starting in 1956) of Soviet aid supplemented later on by substantial Western aid,<sup>15</sup> which has enabled East Europeans to enjoy a higher standard of living than that granted to the Soviet population. We are now seeing an equalizing, and it is not out of the question to imagine that by about the end of the 1980's the differences in living standards between the two population groups might not be so pronounced.

In actuality, the USSR is tending to further exploit the links of dependence which have been established. This exploitation is particularly noticeable in the energy area.

Thus, the USSR has appreciably altered its attitude since 1975, introducing restrictions with regard to its energy deliveries and ceasing its past practice of supplying its satellites with very cheap energy without any quantity limitations.

The restrictions have affected, firstly, prices by the introduction of a new oil pricesetting mechanism for CEMA, which was aimed at gradually moving the CEMA price closer to the world price.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the relative advantage that used to be granted to CEMA by the USSR before 1975 (CEMA used to pay about one-fifth of the international price for oil) has eroded, but CEMA's advantage is still not a negligible one since it is still granted the option of paying in rubles.

Secondly, the restrictions have affected the quantities supplied. In 1980 the USSR announced that ceilings would be set 5 years in advance for the overall quantity supplied to Eastern Europe for rubles, forcing its partners to go for supplementary supplies to suppliers in the Middle East or in certain situations back to the USSR but paying in foreign currencies.

Lastly, this past year the USSR started reducing deliveries to certain countries (particularly the GDR and Czechoslovakia) which, considering the reluctance of their authorities to increase foreign debt, forced them into major energy-saving endeavors. In the GDR the situations have been fairly well handled, but the cuts have severely handicapped the chemical industry in Czechoslovakia.

The USSR has imposed an obligation on its partners to contribute their know-how and manpower for the purpose of participation in setting up energy infrastructure in the USSR for the future, and it should be noted that this obligation amounts to /increasing the real cost burden for those countries of their energy imports/[in italics].<sup>17</sup>

Generally speaking, the USSR has offset the decline in its receipts due to the oil price decline by increasing its foreign currency sales, by decreasing its deliveries to the ruble zone, and by encouraging its partners to convert to natural gas, electricity, and nuclear power.

Thus, in the energy area, which used to be the major area above all others of Soviet aid to the USSR's satellites, /the terms of trade have had a tendency to worsen for Eastern Europe/[in italics], and this has been happening at a time when those satellites have been going through a /serious economic slump/[in italics].

Another element in the Soviet attitude shows through in the Soviet insistence since 1976 on developing bilateral cooperation projects. The USSR has clearly gone from a phase in which it had faith in the idea of multilateral integration (which could have led to cooperation projects among Eastern European countries completely apart from any Soviet participation, if need be) to a phase of a conception of integration which puts the USSR /in the center of a network of bilateral agreements/[in italics]. This does not mean that those agreements are always to the sole advantage of the Soviet Union but rather that the Soviet Union maintains control over the economic directions taken. A new trend which appears in the Soviet-Hungarian cooperation agreements signed on the occasion of the August 1983 Kadar visit is the increased number of projects to be carried out on Soviet territory which, whatever their immediate benefits for the partner country, amount to a contribution to the development and modernization of Soviet infrastructure and not to that of the satellite countries.

In this evolution one sees how all of these factors carry the seed of possibilities for conflictual relations between the Soviet Union and the governments and peoples of Eastern Europe. Whereas in the past the Eastern European economies provided a basis for gratitude (in response to actual aid from the USSR) and satisfaction (derived from comparisons of living standards with that of the Soviet population), those feelings /might possibly/[in italics] become inverted and /reasons for resentment and frustration may appear/[in italics] toward the Soviet "big brother" both on the part of the populations and, which would be more novel, on the part of the economic officials.

Towards Stricter "Conditionality" in Western Aid?

The Polish affair is going to have made a profound change in the attitude of Western governments and economic actors concerning what economic policy vis-a-vis Eastern Europe is to be.

In spite of all the talk in this regard, it does not seem to the author that strict political conditionality will necessarily control the level and modalities of Western economic relations with Eastern Europe. First of all, this is because of the number and the multifarious interests of those parties who would have to be implementing that conditionality on the Western side. It is also because of the impossibility of our economic officials blocking the dynamics of the market and playing "stop-go" with duly signed contracts at the slightest sign of political change in one direction or another. Establishing equivalence between the political area and the economic area is particularly difficult (if one wants to be fair) because it assumes complete agreement on the nature and modalities of political change to be regarded as positive. Furthermore, political conditionality will run up against some national interests which are rarely in agreement.

On the other hand, the /concept of conditionality will itself necessarily be expanded, but perhaps take other forms/[in italics]. One reason for that is, considering the economic situation now prevailing in the industrial countries, the amount of available credits is no longer unlimited, and that therefore judgments have to be made between varied choices: whether to finance exports to the Third World or to finance exports to Eastern Europe; and within the latter category deciding among the different possible projects and among countries which have either more or less economic credibility and are either more or less politically "sympathetic." Stricter monitoring of the allocation and utilization of credits now seems inescapable.<sup>18</sup>

The second reason lies in the recent appearance on the East European scene of international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank which, although they are adjusting their rules somewhat to the special situation Eastern European countries are in, will nonetheless be remaining faithful to their basic operating principles, which assume strict monitoring of economic trends and require a certain level of information on the part of country authorities.

The third reason has to do with past experience and the lessons learned from the Polish cases, the result of which is that Western bankers and businessmen are not going to be committing themselves any more without assessing projects to be presented to them on their real merits, and without demanding the opportunity to monitor the course and progress of projects they approve. Along these lines, one might wonder if the future doesn't lie more in newer forms of cooperation--joint venture companies, and contractual partnerships or even local establishment of foreign companies offering the Western businessmen additional means for following and monitoring the utilization and effectiveness of their investments.<sup>19</sup> Another new form of East-West cooperation is evidenced in the still embryonic project of aid for Polish private sector agriculture via the assistance of the local episcopate.

This form, or rather these forms, of economic conditionality are not completely neutral for all that, since the selection of countries and of projects will in actuality favor the sectors and industries which give greater importance to profitability and efficiency, thus creating indirect pressure on the political and economic authorities to gradually accept the introduction of foreign entities into their economies.

This conditionality won't pass muster without resistance on the part of the USSR, which cannot look on the interference of foreign elements in the socialist system and principles with a favorable eye. But the USSR does not really have the means for forbidding its satellites to procure capital and technology wherever they can find them. There will also be resistance on the part of economic managers and especially on the part of local party cadres who will be able to see in all this the seed of competition in regard to their supervisory authority.

This new form of East-West economic cooperation--more multilateral, more daring, and more in touch with reality--is to be attempted at a most difficult time and in a fairly unpropitious context. In spite of that, the challenge is worth being taken up provided that we are not talking merely about a resumption of the last decade's East-West relations, total responsibility for which was taken by governmental authorities and which had no connection with the real needs of the countries. This new way of dealing the cards assumes greater autonomy for independent economic and financial actors in the West, who must no longer be supported and supervised by their governments, and assumes greater participation by society in Eastern Europe, with the right to check and monitor economic choices. Under these conditions Eastern Europe could look forward to a way out of the slump with which it has to live for the time being. We are talking about something which is in our interest as well, since the impoverishment of Eastern Europe will--more surely than integration, which is an impossibility--be the instrument for its becoming Sovietized. That is the card the Soviet Union seems to be playing, and which we must make great efforts to overtrump.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In Poland, for example, that share has fallen from 46 percent to 30 percent.
2. One should not be deluded by the figures for Bulgaria, inasmuch as that country, in spite of its rate of growth still being high (4 percent), is experiencing in delayed fashion the same phenomenon of investment stagnation, which presages a drop in growth for 1986-1987.

3. Which will probably be accentuated by future population trends.
4. Except in the GDR where according to official figures 80 percent of industrial growth (3.2 percent, which was less than planned) was due to increased labor productivity.
5. Another aspect is that the supervision involved in militarization diverts by definition a portion of the workforce which could be utilized for production purposes.
6. The argument that detente encourages Eastern European governments to reform is not supported by historical reality: the major reform attempts in the USSR and Eastern Europe took place between 1963 and 1968, before the great era of detente . . . and the second wave of "mini-reforms" started at the time when detente officially started downhill (about 1979).
7. Called "New Vision and Economic Machinery."
8. Contrary to the widely held idea in the West of a "second phase of reforms" in Hungary's case, there have been only very incomplete measures, and while the authorities talk about "more thoroughgoing reform" they have avoided any bold initiatives.
9. Cf. the set of reforms announced in July 1983.
10. "Hence the entire country should be called upon, and, in order to obtain its support, and in the absence of economic reservations, political concessions should be made; however, after the 13 December 1981 government coup in Poland, that is no longer possible in any Eastern European country." Tibor Kovacsy in ALTERNATIVE, No 21/1983, citing the article by Janos Kis in BESZELO, No 3, Budapest.
11. In 1982 Poland's exports to the ruble zone increased by 18.6 percent and its imports increased by 1 percent (imports from the West declined 23 percent).
12. The share of Romania's trade with the ruble zone countries was 38 percent in 1981 and 58 percent in 1982.
13. Imports from the Third World were down 23 percent in 1982.
14. COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, No 269, "The Polish Economy."

15. It is estimated that Eastern Europe cost the Soviet Union some 80 billion dollars over 20 years, which amount, given all the reservations required with respect to that type of estimate, is roughly equivalent to the sum total of Western loans that have been granted to Eastern Europe.
16. Previously the price was set every 5 years, while in the new system an annual change takes place with the price being defined as the average world price during the preceding 5 years. If this system is maintained, the CEMA price and the OPEC price could coincide in the 1984-1985 period barring a sudden new increase in world prices.
17. Thus, one can observe that a number of those countries have provided the USSR with semi-finished goods, goods either imported from the West or manufactured domestically, which were exported to the USSR at prices lower than foreign currency prices which third countries could have been charged.
18. That is what Walesa's words mean calling for the supply of new credits to Poland to be accompanied by "guarantees" with respect to monitoring of their utilization by society.
19. Cf. the interesting article by Yves Dolais on this subject in COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, No 272, April 1983: "Western Capital in the Socialist Countries."

9631

CSO: 3519/224



EDUCATION OF WORKER, PEASANT CONTROL GROUPS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Dec 83 pp 34-42

[Article by Pavllo Gjidede: "On the Education Instruction and Specialization of Worker and Peasant Control Groups"]

[Text] The idea of direct worker and peasant control, first treated theoretically and practically by Lenin, has been further elaborated and generalized scientifically in many documents of the Albanian Workers Party and in the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha. The elaboration of a broad theoretical platform for this type of control and its application in practice, in accordance with the conditions of our country, constitute a new contribution which has been made, in this area as in every other, by our workers party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

We have now accumulated a rich work experience in the field of organization, education, training, instruction and specialization of worker and peasant control groups which, under the leadership of the Party, are being consolidated and animated, giving continual and great assistance in the administration of common socialist property, for the success of state activities and services for the people, and for the widest possible inclusion of the laboring masses in the governing of the country. Party committees in the districts and Party bureaus in economic enterprises, in agricultural cooperatives, etc., are utilizing the worker and peasant control groups continually and better for the direct solution, with party spirit and in an effective manner, of a series of problems that emerge in various environments. Following, evaluating and guiding the activity of worker and peasant control groups, the Party has, in the meantime, also drawn attention to several insufficiencies which are observed both in the conception of the role and goals of this control and in exercising it.

The purpose and sphere of action must always be clearly maintained

Comrade Enver Hoxha has stressed that the primary goal of worker and peasant control is "to give order to questions of the administration of the new socialist state and especially in the administration of socialist property" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1976-1977," p 350).

Clarifying the purpose of building and launching into action worker and peasant control groups also clarifies the sphere of their activity, the problems which they must grasp and the more concrete objectives of this control when it is exercised in an enterprise, a cooperative, an institution, a branch or sector of the state administration, or in production.

The worker and peasant control groups are organized, prepared and launched into action by committees and bureaus of the Party especially for the preservation, strengthening and administration of the common property that constitutes the basis of our socio-economic order; to struggle against the activity of the class enemy who aims to weaken and destroy it; to make it impossible for malefactors to appropriate this property; but also to bar the way to any liberal and bureaucratic action in this area. Naturally, they are also launched into action in other spheres and for other problems of state and economic management, for the strengthening of order and discipline in work, for the improvement of services for the people, etc.

But all these are not an object for control only by worker and peasant control groups. Lenin made it clear that "if it is a matter of the proletarian state, i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat, then worker control can be carried out by all the people, can include everything, can be established everywhere can be a precise and conscientious account of production and distribution of products" (V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 26, p 101).

In order to implement these teachings in our life, in the districts and at the grass roots, under the leadership of Party committees and bureaus, practical measures have been taken for the continual and further increase in the active participation by the working class and other workers in the governing of the country, in the management of the state and the economy, while the information and conclusions of worker and peasant control groups become a reason for deepening the analyses or controls of other competent organs.

Nevertheless, here and there in practice, narrow understanding and wrong acts are observed. In studies and generalizations made some time ago by several Party committees in the districts, there was observed a tendency to identify the activity of worker and peasant control groups with the control of the working class.

Actually, the worker and peasant control groups are only one of the forms for the realization of working class control that have their own sphere of action and jurisdictions and that must not be confused either with the control of the Party or with that of the state, and especially not with the direct control of the working class and masses from below, 10, 20 or a 100 representatives or groups of workers and peasants cannot accomplish what the class and its organized political, ideological and organizational strength can.

Worker and peasant control groups are not everything and above everything. The Party and its line are above everything. The impression is sometimes created even by the instruments of propaganda that these groups are ostensibly responsible for supervising the execution of all tasks. In fact, as the Party has instructed from time to time, there is no worker and peasant control group which manages work. The concrete work accomplished by the Party and the mass

organizations, as well as their struggle and that of the state for the application of laws, is what raises the awareness of workers. "What remains for the Party, then," stresses Comrade Enver Hoxha, "if worker control monitors, educates, sets tasks and takes measures?" (Enver Hoxha, "Reports and Speeches 1980-1981, p 303).

It is a task of the committees, bureaus and organizations of the Party, after determinations and control by worker and peasant groups, to strengthen educational and organizational work, to sharpen the revolutionary vigilance of communists and of all workers, to place each person in a conscientious work position, and to make those people responsible for anomalies, whoever they may be, answerable for them.

The committees and bureaus of the Party assign particular, concrete and interim tasks to worker and peasant control groups. Thus, after having realized the assigned task, the control group concludes its activity. It is again launched into action only when and as the Party deems necessary. The worker and peasant control group is not an organism set up or called upon to exercise continual control or to act as some sort of appendix to state and Party apparatuses. It is a tool in the hands of the class which, under the leadership of the Party, is utilized when it is determined that somewhere work is not proceeding at the proper pace or that actions contrary to the directions of the Party are occurring. Every attempt, which has been observed in some cases, to exercise control by these groups "in the name of the class," in the name of "initiative and independent action" and outside the directives of the Party has been criticized and must be strongly criticized because it does not correspond to the role and the jurisdictions of worker and peasant control groups.

Stern criticism has also been submitted in those cases of attitudes of some Party bureaus or committees which give much more importance to worker and peasant control groups, and to the work that they perform, than to the control and concrete and direct assistance of Party organs and basic organizations or of organs of authority. The Party committee and many Party bureaus in Kruje District, for example, last year almost legalized the practice of launching worker and peasant control groups into action 4-5 days before they were mustered by the Party organs, in order to obtain data on their condition, at a time when this information for Party forums can and must be provided in the correct Party way. In other districts, several organizational bureaus and Party committees seek to realize by means of worker control groups, tasks which pertain directly to economic or state organs. The Party committee of Tepelena District, for example, sent the worker and peasant control group to 23 agricultural enterprises and cooperatives in order to see whether the daily work in agriculture was being accomplished.

These and other incorrect conceptions and practices with regard to the role and object of worker and peasant control groups must be eliminated. At the meeting of the Secretariat of the AWP Central Committee on 25 May 1977, Comrade Enver Hoxha defined quite clearly the major directions where attention must be concentrated by Party organs and bureaus linked with the object and activity of worker and peasant control groups. These, as well as a series of other directives which the Party has given for the fruitful increase of worker and

peasant control have remained a guidance for action. Along with the activization of worker and peasant control groups, it is indispensable to bear in mind in every case that they are set up and led by the Party, as well as prepared, educated, trained and given specialized training by it from headquarters to the grass roots, that they have their own sphere of action and that this type of control must not be confused with other forms of working class control or obscure them.

The usefulness of the activity of worker and peasant control groups depends upon the level of ability possessed by their members

The ideological and political education and specialization of worker and peasant control groups is considered by the Party as one of the fundamental tasks of its organs and basic-organizations and their levers. This education and specialization help not only in achieving the correct understanding of the role of these groups, but also in increasing the usefulness of controls that they make and of conclusions and tasks which are drawn from these controls. Comrade Enver Hoxha has given an important directive for the ideological and political education and technical and professional training of members of worker and peasant control groups, for their instruction and training, which they accomplish as necessary tasks, and for the better activization for these goals by all Party levers.

The instruction given to members of worker and peasant control groups, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, are and must be of two types. The first type must constitute political and ideological instruction, by means of which it is made known to monitors what worker and peasant control is, why it has been created, why it was recommended by Lenin and why it is promoted by our Party too, what its values are, its political and ideological goals. The other type of this instruction has as its object the specific work and training of members of worker and peasant control groups in order that they may exercise useful, competent control, in order to assist them in having a deep knowledge of the situation, and in order that they may condemn and avoid weakness and errors. It must be said that every Party committee or bureau has the strength and means at its disposal to accomplish this instruction as required.

The extremely varied problems pursued by the worker and peasant control groups have dictated that their members be divided into subgroups. One such division permits a differentiation to be made in skilled work, developing with each subgroup the theme for those problems which it pursues or will pursue in this or that unit. Without such differentiated skilled work, the members of the worker and peasant control groups cannot be trained to the required level and, as a result, their controls too will not be accomplished at a high qualitative level.

This requirement is always kept in mind and practice attests that, in general, the specialization of monitors is being made especially with a view to the concrete problems of the district. Nevertheless, in some districts formal work is still accomplished which is based on an excessively general program, in order to give the impression that the members of the worker and peasant control group will go to the grass roots in order to monitor the whole work plan of agricultural enterprises or cooperatives.

This and several other facts prove that so far, while there has been better work for the political and ideological education of members of worker and peasant control groups, the interest in and work for the specialization of monitors are insufficient in some districts. The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have particularly emphasized the need to construct special programs. To realize this task, the Party committees and bureaus can and must activate the specialists they have in a district, especially workers in the court and the attorney's office, in organs of internal affairs and other specialists in various fields who work in the executive committees of district people's councils and in the grass roots. The district cadres and specialists, especially the legal workers, have rich experience and wide knowledge not only regarding methods used by the hostile and harmful element to act and dissimulate, but also regarding ways of resistance and action used by such extremely dangerous enemies as bureaucratism, liberalism, technocratism, irresponsibility, etc. Giving knowledge of these to members of worker and peasant control groups, they assist in orienting them along the lines of control and increasing their usefulness.

The organs of authority in districts must give greater assistance than they have so far. The executive committees of district people's councils have the special task of determining the more acute troubles of a fixed period in the area of administration in order that, on this basis, the education, instruction and particularly the specialization of worker and peasant monitors may be improved. The executive committee of the district people's council, as a Party lever especially charged with state administration, well knows where the weakest points of each area and sector are. For that reason it is able to give great assistance in the instruction of worker and peasant control groups, placing for this aim at the disposition of the Party committee the best cadres that are needed for the compilation and application of the instruction program for members of worker and peasant control groups. In addition, the organs of authority in districts also have the opportunity to suggest for both the concrete objects they must monitor and the task they must pursue with continuity, how the tasks are applied which the worker and peasant control group leaves where it has exercised control; they should call to account their subordinate organs and regularly inform the Party committees about the progress of affairs.

The Party has directed and directs that the usefulness of controls made by worker and peasant control groups be evaluated, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, by the results which they yield. Where controls are made, therefore, it is important to observe carefully whether or not bureaucratic procedures and liberal attitudes are eliminated, whether or not the tasks are realized as required, whether or not work discipline is strengthened, whether or not common property is well administered and well utilized, etc. On the basis of answers obtained to these questions, the formative and skilled work with members of the worker control groups is better constructed, as is that with the communists and workers where this control is exercised and where there is weakness of this nature.

The Party's aim is that all workers and cooperativists gradually submit to the ideological political education, instruction and professional training that is accomplished with the members of worker and peasant control groups. This

goal also serves the directive that the worker and peasant control groups should be renewed year in and year out. Such a practice makes it possible to maintain the basic criterion of bringing better workers and peasants into these groups, those loyal to the Party line, conscientious people in the vanguard of sacrifice. All the workers should gradually pass through education and training in this form, in order that all may have a fundamental knowledge of the Party line and directives, the Constitution, the most important laws and provisions of our state in various areas, the economic policy of the Party and the state, as well as practice in the exercise of control and verification of task fulfillment.

In his time, Lenin advised that it is necessary and even imperative to include women in the Worker and Peasant Inspection units. Appreciating this teaching and implementing it in our life, our Party has called and calls attention to the fact that women should be activized to the degree that they merit in worker and peasant control groups too. Practice indicates that where women have been activized in worker and peasant control groups, the activity of these groups has been more effective because, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, women, when they monitor, "know better than others how to extract oil from work." They generally have a lofty sentiment of application to order, a love of work and common property, diligence in work and production with good quality and low cost. From this standpoint, the increase of women in the ranks of worker and peasant control groups increases the usefulness of their activity.

Nevertheless, in many worker and peasant control groups, the number of women is small and in some there are no women at all, a fact which some Party bureau and committee secretaries attempt to justify by various wrongful justifications. In fact, at the root of this deficiency lie vestiges of old conservative conceptions about the role and capabilities of women which some cadres continue to preserve and express by that inadequate attention shown to the inclusion of women in worker and peasant control groups. In the struggle against these vestiges, therefore, this deficiency must be treated and eliminated.

Some questions regarding the organization,  
direction and operation of worker and  
peasant control groups

According to the given directives, the worker and peasant control groups are set up alongside Party bureaus in work centers and in agricultural cooperatives, and alongside Party committees in the districts.

Practice so far indicates that while the leadership by district Party committees of worker and peasant control groups set up alongside them is better conceived and realized, in the activity of groups set up alongside Party bureaus in economic enterprises and in agricultural cooperatives deficiencies are observed which have their root in inadequate leadership and organizational work accomplished by some Party bureaus, which is also expressed in the inadequate effectiveness of controls that are organized. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, while worker and peasant control must be effective everywhere, this control must be particularly effective where it is in greater contact with the grass roots, with work.

In order to increase the usefulness of the work of worker and peasant control groups, the district Party committees and the Party bureaus in economic enterprises and in agricultural cooperatives must always bear in mind those essential traits which characterize this type of control; among others are surprise, effectiveness and massiveness. These requirements are generally applied, but in some cases violations and distortions are observed too. Surprise, for example, is not always and everywhere maintained because it has been applied together with the monthly and tri-monthly plans for units which are to be monitored. Many times, the worker and peasant control groups have lacked effectiveness. In addition, in some cases, massiveness has also been lacking, losing the character of this control and of a direct control from the masses.

One question of great importance, as much in principle, as in practice, is the attentive attitude toward the documentation presented by the worker and peasant control group, toward their opinions and proposals regarding the work of organs and cadres which they have monitored. This occurs when the listening of worker activated for control is made a permanent work method, not "to take stock," but to take effective measures for improving the situation.

Because the worker and peasant control groups is set into motion by the Party bureau of committee, it is imperative that the conclusions of the control be communicated also to the collective whose work was monitored, because the control is exercised in order to correct a definite condition, while those who will realize the improvement are, in the first place, the workers. At a meeting of the collective, discussion, criticism and self-criticism are kindled the causes of the situation are discovered and measures for its improvement are determined.

Although the values of this practice are known and recognized, in some districts it has been made a rule that the control groups do not give their conclusions in front of the collective, but only at meetings of Party bureaus or committees because this ostensibly gives them more "importance" and "authority."

These and several other deficiencies observed in the area of worker and peasant control group activity, such keeping away from mass organizations, although the members of these groups select these organizations, must be seen as weaknesses that touch the core of control by the class and the masses. The deep understanding, in a political and ideological monitor, of Party directives for this type of control, as well as for other types of Party, authority, class and mass control, and their correct application in life makes it possible that bureaucratism, as Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, may be overthrown as "an insurmountable obstacle," that errors may be corrected, that work may advance, that members of the working class and the broad masses of workers may always have a greater, decisive role in governing the country.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that the application of direct worker and peasant control at a broad, full and effective level--in part by means of worker and peasant control groups--requires the creation of several conditions and the solution of several problems.

First, more systematic work is required from the Party committees, bureaus and organizations, from state organs and mass organizations in order to make all the workers aware that the application of worker and peasant control is one of their inalienable rights and, at the same time, a task of the first

importance for everyone: for the worker in a factory and outside it, for the peasant in a cooperative, for every citizen in every walk of social life it is an absolute necessity for our advance along the road of building socialism and protecting our fatherland.

Second, it is imperative to encourage, by all ways and means, the free, open and unashamed expression of opinions about work and people.

Third, it is absolutely imperative, as Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out at the 8th Party Congress, that the masses be continually supported and well informed about the activity of state and social institutions and organisms, that these institutions and these organisms be in unceasing confrontation with the masses and combat every kind of inclination toward closed forms of work, in a manner that every activity is monitored with ease by the workers. Without this practice, the control of the masses from below will remain a formal slogan.

Fourth, it is important to understand correctly that the practice and exercise of control by the masses from below, also including the activity of worker and peasant control groups, undergoes a continual dialectical process of development. Up to now, its successes constitute a good basis for launching other steps forward toward their fundamental goals of control by the masses, of direct worker and peasant control of worker and peasant control groups that the Party directs. The forms utilized until now, even the most fruitful, must not be made absolute. There remain the problem and task of searching for new forms which will be as appropriate as possible, but especially their employment in as flexible a manner as possible and with the greatest possible effectiveness.

Fifth, the application of Party directives and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on direct control by workers and peasants and by the masses in general, as well as by the worker and peasant control groups, will require, in the future too, an unceasing struggle against bureaucratic inclinations--to restrain, curb and place them under tutelage; against the fear of unjustified uncertainties in practical application. It will require still more active support to stimulate initiative and revolutionary action by the masses in the application of this control. The activity of worker and peasant control groups is always realized under the leadership of the Party. Its organs and organizations must evaluate them as one of the most important problems that is realized in close cooperation with all the levels of the Party.

12249

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# SHORTCOMINGS IN TRAINING OF AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Dec 83 pp 43-50

[Article by Luftër Xhuvëli: "The Education and Training of Specialists Should be Viewed in Conformity With the Requirements of the Intensification of Agriculture"]

[Text] As a result of the correct Marxist-Leninist line elaborated and applied by the Party, agriculture--like every branch of our socialist economy--has made great progress. An important role has also been played and is played in its achievements by the cadres and specialists in this branch. But the solution of complex problems raised by the rapid and extensive intensification of our agriculture, such as, characteristically, the increase in the level of advances in an ever greater number of agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, the requirements for stabilizing and continually carrying forth high achievements in the future, have made imperative a continual raising of the scientific level of cadres and specialists in agriculture.

As is known, in agriculture there are many reserves for increasing production and yields, while the results of vanguard farms indicate the possibility for their exploitation. High yields of over 85-95 quintals per hectare of corn have been obtained in Dajç and in Vrinë, 60-64 quintals per hectare of wheat in Plasë and in Maliq, over 20-25 quintals per hectare of sunflowers in Ballagat and Donofrosë, over 4,000 kg of milk from each cow in the agricultural enterprises Kamez, Bushat and "29 Nëntori," 500 kg of milk from each goat and 200 kg from each ewe have been achieved by the herdsmen Vat Marku and Hamdi Bishja, etc. These constitute the open road along which our whole agriculture will proceed in years to come.

But in order to yield such high production, crops and livestock must be placed in operation by a series of genetic, biological and physiological mechanisms. Their requirements must be harmonized and coordinated at a high level with climate and soil conditions, with agrotechnical and zootechnical services, with mechanization, with types of crop seed and livestock breeds. All these constitute a complex of factors which can be utilized with great effectiveness only by people with a broad cultural horizon, with a profound scientific knowledge, with an exacting and innovative spirit, with a desire to study and experiment, with practical and skilled experience in techniques of production and advanced technology. For that reason, the Party strongly emphasizes the need for improvement of work in the schools for the training

of high-level specialists and for their advanced training after the completion of their studies, throughout their whole work period. In both of these links, the training and further training of specialists, there are achievements, but there are also general problems in improving our development, as well as deficiencies in work done in this field by state and economic organs. The correct solution of these problems, according to the directives of the Party, requires a clearer and deeper understanding of the need for training, a better commitment on the part of the special organisms themselves in higher education and of other state organs, as well as a further increase in the leading role of the basic party organizations in these organisms.

1.

All cadres and high-level specialists who work today in production, as well as the young specialists who will increase this army in the future, have received and receive a basic knowledge of agricultural science in school. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha recommends that "all educational and pedagogical forces and fronts be concentrated in a more serious and more skilled manner on improving the quality of school work" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th Congress of the PLA," p 132).

As practice also indicates, the training of specialists at a high scientific level depends greatly on the scientific level of plans, programs and textbooks, on the level of skills of teachers and the level of instruction, on the ensuring of the necessary material and laboratory base, on the level of training of middle-school students, on the work done by the students to learn and assimilate basic scientific and technical knowledge, on the love that they have for their profession, for agriculture, for the village as a whole. All these are important directions in the teaching, scientific, educational and organization and management work of teachers, departments, deans' offices, rectorates, organs and basic organizations of the youth in schools of higher and middle education, and education organs in the districts and at headquarters.

In the execution of tasks set by the 8th Party Congress and by the resolution of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the AWP in June 1982 "For the further improvement of the quality of teaching and educational work in schools," complex work has been done for the improvement of teaching plans and programs, which constitute the basic documentation of schools. For this purpose discussions were organized, under the leadership of basic Party organizations, where the ideas of pedagogues, students and the best specialists from research and scientific institutions, production and appropriate ministries were widely solicited. At the conclusion, 13 new teaching plans and 168 new teaching programs were compiled; 9 new subjects were introduced into the teaching plans, such as ecology, scientific experimentation, biochemistry, technologies for processing livestock fodder, etc., programs for 18 other subjects were reconstructed.

The improved programs more fully reflect the Party directives and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the experience of socialist construction in our country, the scientific advances of recent decades and especially the achievements of science and production in our country. In this manner, healthy foundations have been established to give students a broader theoretical knowledge, in particular, on theoretical subjects of a biological nature, such

as genetics, biology, physiology, biochemistry, etc., which are fundamental for applied subjects. Conspicuous improvements have been made in specialized subjects in every faculty, which reflect new techniques and advanced modern technology being applied in agriculture, livestock, fruit-growing, etc. There has been further improvement in the ratio between theoretical parts and practical laboratory exercises in favor of the latter, bringing this ratio up to 1:1. Assignments and work that the student will carry out independently have been increased. These assignments generally represent problems that the specialist will encounter for solution in practice. The changes dictated by life and based upon experience gained have not been made only in the early years, where the improved program is being applied, but also in the training of more advanced students, for whom temporary plans have been compiled which exert influence in the expansion of their knowledge.

The improved plans and programs, although they are in their initial phase of application, are fulfilling, in a continually better fashion, the basic indispensable condition for raising the qualitative level of the training of specialists. But they are not everything. They display their values when they are analyzed and carried out on a high scientific level by means of texts, lectures, laboratory practice, exercises, seminars and other forms of work.

The existing texts were compiled on the basis of previous teaching programs and therefore do not contain some parts and chapters which the new programs provide. The need has thus arisen for some texts to be replaced because there are great changes in the new teaching programs, while some others can be revised and completed in accordance with the partial changes that have been made in the teaching programs.

The revision and compilation of new texts at a high scientific level actually constitute the most important action, the one which must be better taken in hand and led by the Party organizations at the Higher Institute of Agriculture and at other scientific and teaching institutions, while the departments and teachers are charged with the revision and compilation of new texts. Based upon the experience that they have gained, they all have the possibility of accomplishing this task as rapidly as possible and at a high qualitative level. It is also important that other skilled specialists be included in this work, those with knowledge of both practice and theory. In the meantime, there must be further improvement and coordination of the work between the institutions and the state printing organs. We stress this not only because of the fact that we have a large volume of work (the faculties of the Higher Institute of Agriculture alone publish 35-40 teaching texts per year), but also because in practice there have been cases when publications are delayed or issued with bad quality and with errors, something that has a negative influence on the assimilation of scientific knowledge by students.

An important role in the application of compiled programs is also played by the preparation and development of lectures at a high level. This now constitutes a task of major importance for all departments and teachers. Along with the discussion of lectures in departments, good efforts have also been made to include the ideas of appropriate specialists in scientific institutions and in production. In addition, such specialists have developed lectures, seminars and reports with students and with teachers. It has been planned to activate

over 200 such specialists for the 1983-1984 school year. So far the reports of cadres of specialists in vanguard agricultural units as those of Plase, Maliq, Kamez, Lapardhe, etc., have been very beneficial. But not all the specialists in agricultural units correctly appreciate these activities and many of them hesitate or agree with great difficulty to develop seminars with students on the problems of production and their achievements in the application of advanced science, techniques and technology. In fact, work practice up to now indicates that these seminars, together with professional practical experience and production work of students, as well as the lectures that are developed with them at projects in the fields, in orchards, in stables, in laboratories and in clinics exercise a perceptible influence on the ideological and professional formation of future specialists.

The level of general, theoretical, ideological, scientific, professional and pedagogical qualification and preparation of the teachers themselves plays an essential role in the preparation of specialists with the necessary knowledge because the teachers are those who give life to programs, because the quality of texts depends upon their level of training, as does the quality of lectures and the whole teaching, educational and scientific process. The Party therefore has placed and places great importance on the training of teachers as a crucial factor in improving the scientific level of teaching. This question is stressed particularly for the Higher Institute of Agriculture where, as a result of the innovations made in execution of Party directives, 45 percent of the teachers are young and have been teaching less than 5 years.

In order to implement the Party's instruction that "no one can be a good teacher if he does not have a researcher's interest in the science that corresponds to the subject he teaches," a good number of our teachers have been engaged in studies and in research and scientific work which have served to broaden their knowledge, increase their creative ability and, as a result, improve their teaching. Dissertation defenses, various publications, scientific information, etc. have also served this goal. During the 1980-1983 period alone, 30 dissertations were defended for the degree of "master of science" and 4 for "doctor of science," while many young teachers have concluded their preliminary 2-year training for the completion and widening of required university knowledge and being gradually introduced to postgraduate scientific training. Nevertheless, progress in training is still slow and, especially in the area of quality, much remains to be done. This problem appears more acutely in the Faculty of Agrarian Economy, in the Faculty of Forestry, in the branches of vegetable-growing and fruit-growing and in the Korc Higher Agricultural Institute.

In the improvement of work connected with the training and retraining of teachers, there are also problems of an organizational and technical character which must be solved, but, in the first place, it is necessary to struggle more effectively against false concepts and inclinations in two major areas, such as the tendency of many teachers to be satisfied with being "in order" in regard to the development of teaching and the completion of teaching hours, as well as the practice observed in some cases where the postgraduate scientific training is seen as an aim in itself and not connected, as it must be with raising the scientific level of teaching and with solving the problems of

production. It is a fact that with all the improvements made, the process of training teachers and their involvement in scientific work are still not connected as they must be with the solution of important problems of current and long-range development, with the assimilation of new and modern methods of research. Deficiencies of this nature are also observed in publishing activity, in scientific sessions, in the reports and papers which are presented.

Special importance is attached to the work of thoroughly inculcating in students continual and systematic education and study, something which, as experience also indicates, is accomplished by means of well organized and coordinated activity by departments with youth organizations, under the leadership of basic party organizations. The experience gained in several faculties and departments indicates that when this coordination and harmonization of the educational work of various organisms with the students, under the leadership of Party organizations, is done well, then even foreign manifestations and mistaken views with respect to the school have been much fewer. This experience must therefore be transmitted further and spread more widely in all departments and faculties.

2.

At present, thousands of agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians and forestry economists and engineers work in agricultural enterprises and cooperatives, in scientific research institutions and in other organisms specializing in agriculture, while several thousand others are being trained. These constitute a great force for the intensification of agricultural production, for the introduction of new techniques and technology, for the perfection of the scientific organization and direction of production, etc. It is a fact that where there are specialists with high level skills, wide interests in knowledge and science, an inquiring spirit and practical ability, the resulting increases in agricultural and livestock production have been high and steady. Nevertheless, there is no room for euphoria and complacency, since because our life continually advances, the tasks increase, science is developed and all these require that the specialists always be in the forefront, leading--something that cannot be handled only with knowledge gained in school without enriching and deepening it continually. "Science," recommends Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is learned in school, but after that, it is also learned outside of school" (Enver Hoxha, "The Progress of the Country is Inseparable from the Development of Science and Technology," brochure, p 43).

Training and specialization is made even more imperative in the present conditions of concentration and specialization of agricultural production. Today, our farms have special sectors for vegetables, vineyards, olives and citrus fruits, and specialized livestock complexes have been set up for the production of milk from cows, of eggs and meat from fowl, for the production of pork and veal, etc. Advanced technology is applied in these sectors and complexes. It is therefore obvious that it is wholly inadequate to manage such a completely specialized, high-yielding unit with only academic and empirical knowledge. The high achievements and results, especially the increase in effectiveness of many investments that have been made in agriculture, requires that the specialists master profound knowledge study and continually acquaint themselves with the latest things in modern science, as well as with the best achievements.

In the application of the Party recommendations on training and specialization, aside from individual work done by the specialists, courses lasting several months have been organized by the faculties of the Higher Institute of Agriculture and by agricultural research institutes. Long-term, 1-3 year specialization is also used as a new link in our educational system, and cadres are sent outside the country for specialization in a particular field.

The party and our socialist state have also created many other possibilities for the training and specialization of agricultural cadres. Scientific literature and publications are continually increasing. The state has allocated considerable funds for the purchase of scientific books and journals. Libraries operate in every district and agricultural economy; these are enriched every year with new scientific and bibliographical books and other materials. The Higher Institute of Agriculture alone has a library which now possesses over 106,000 volumes and the collection is increased every year by an average of 2,900 books and 600 periodicals. It maintains contacts with 124 institutions and libraries in 28 foreign countries. In order to assist production specialists, a bibliographic service has been organized in district libraries too. Exhibitions of agricultural books have been opened, national seminars have been organized and the bibliographic information system has been improved by means of an increase in information publications. Thus, an information bulletin on foreign agricultural literature, a bibliographical bulletin, "Agricultural Science and the Advanced Experience of Our Country," a summary catalog of foreign agricultural periodicals, etc. are now being published regularly.

But not all specialists properly appreciate study and many of them do not make very effective use of the opportunities which have been created to deepen their knowledge of agricultural science. There are a number of higher cadres who study little technical and scientific literature, who show little interest in the new things of science, justifying this attitude with the false idea that ostensibly only the specialists who work in various scientific organisms have an opportunity to study.

Now, in every enlarged agricultural enterprise and cooperative there work not less than 20-30 higher specialists in agriculture, while in every district there are several hundred such specialists. It is therefore necessary that questions related to their training attract much more attention from basic party organizations which will better set in motion the economic and state organs in order that the work programs compiled for this purpose be applied. Special care in this area must be devoted to specialists who have just finished school, in order to stimulate and monitor them, but also to entrust studies and tasks to them which require skills. In this way they will become more capable, they will also feel the need for book work, laboratory utilization and learning from their more skilled comrades.

There are also problems here of the method and style of work, of the proportions between work of a daily and immediate operational nature and that of a general and long-range nature. Without fighting against the daily routine and the inclination to take on simple work that can be accomplished by technicians and cadres with medium education, it is not possible to find time for scientific work, for the study and generalization of advanced experiences that are found everywhere.

Our socialist economic and social system creates many possibilities for the utilization of manifold forms of organization and direction in a plan for the postgraduate training and specialization of cadres. There are useful and interesting scientific sessions, 1-2 day seminars, reports and information on the unit and district level concerning scientific advances. They are of great effectiveness, especially when carefully prepared and specialized and when debates are developed in them, ideas prevented and concrete scientific problems which concern production are discussed. There are possibilities for these activities to be organized more frequently and better prepared.

In conditions where our agriculture has a large number of specialized scientific centers, where the most skilled scientific forces work, they have the possibilities, in cooperation with the departments of the schools of higher education, of organizing better and much more frequent short-term courses of 1-3 months.

Postgraduate training by means of 1-3 years long-term specialized courses is a form of training which is being strengthened from year to year. A five-year plan has been compiled for these and up to now three specialized courses have been completed: for bread grains, olives and livestock nutrition and reproduction, while four others are continuing. Efforts have been made for these courses to be developed together with regular teaching programs and with all the requirements of a postgraduate school. But their practice is still limited. Several problems have also arisen in connection with the increase in the quality of teaching on the part of departments, with the publication of the necessary literature, especially postgraduate leaflets and texts for basic disciplines in various specialities, translations and adaptations of literature. In addition, coordination of work must be improved between the appropriate ministries and the state and economic organs in districts which do the work of selecting candidates for specialization who are the most able and have the best prospects, who are young and have achieved high results not only in school, but also in work. The placement in suitable work, according to the appropriate profile, of specialists who have finished these courses is another problem which merits more attention from Party and state organizations than has been the case until now. We stress this because there have been cases where, due to the incorrect evaluation of this problem and a lack of the required cooperation among state organs, some specialized cadres do not work according to their specialization or receive ordinary work. The Party recommends that the specialized cadres be widely engaged in the development of scientific activities, in the transmission of knowledge and experience gained to a wider circle of cadres, especially to younger generations.

The training of cadres who work in production is accomplished by means of the postgraduate scientific training system. But so far the inclusion of production specialists in this training system is limited. There are very few production specialists who have defended dissertations--only 8 individuals in all. Forest management and utilization engineers are more backward in this direction. Of 16 registered specialists, only one had defended a dissertation, while some of them were taken off the register after having violated the terms defined in the resolution of the Council of Ministers. Even among specialists who work in agricultural scientific research institutions there is a low rate of training and receiving of science degrees. It is therefore necessary that these problems be better taken in hand by the basic party organizations,

treating the problem of the training of specialists in the manner stressed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, i.e., as "a question in the interest of the whole society" (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th Congress of the PLA," p 136), in order to realize the necessary change in this area.

The work which is being done for the training of specialists in production and in scientific institutions also requires better support from the publishing activity because, although we have many specialists with a wide horizon and with scientific and practical experience, the number of technical and scientific publications is still small, especially, important and fundamental publications in agricultural sciences. The question is that publishing establishments should better organize their work in activizing authors who can write, as well as shorten the printing time of books and bulletins. There is also room for improvement in the area of propagandizing and popularizing technical and scientific books on the part of the media.

The problems of the education and training of specialists are problems which our development has raised. They are being recognized and treated ever more thoroughly and efforts are being increased for their solution according to the directives of the Party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

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INTERNAL MINISTRY CONFERENCE ON ANTISOCIAL ACTIVITIES, CRIME

Report by Deputy Minister Dimitrov

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 7 Mar 84 pp 1-2

[Text] A national conference with rayon inspectors was held on 28 February 1984 in the capital. Participating in the proceedings of this lofty forum were Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs, Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department, MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs] deputy ministers, the first secretary of the BCP Rayon Committee of the MVR, members of the ministry's collegium, heads of central departments, the leadership of the DNM [People's Militia Directorate], NM [People's Militia] chiefs and deputy chiefs of the Sofia City and Okrug MVR administrations, chiefs of the public order protection rayon administrations and sections, the senior and other rayon inspectors who achieved best results in their official activities and others. Also present was Lt Gen L. K. Reznichenko, representative of the USSR MVR.

The opening speech at the conference was delivered by Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs.

Lt Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the People's Militia, submitted a report on enhancing the role and place of rayon inspectors in accordance with the new requirements and criteria. He stressed that the past period of active work and struggle for the implementation of the congress stipulations was characterized by the further creative activities of the BCP Central Committee and its Politburo who concretize and further develop the tasks and, particularly, the ways and means for their practical implementation. The theoretical elaborations and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his reports, speeches, statements and lectures after the congress were a valuable contribution in this respect.

These elaborations, which were brought about by the new social and political situation in the country, are of exceptional topical and basic significance in the work of the MVR bodies, one of whose detachments is the People's Militia. In improving the overall management and performing activities and upgrading their efficiency in accordance with the new criteria and tasks.

The results achieved during the past 3 years lead to the conclusion that the People's Militia is successfully implementing the resolutions of the 12th Party Congress and the tasks formulated at the MVR national conference in 1981 and the conference on the People's Militia in 1982.

The struggle for a comprehensive and effective protection of the socialist economy has become more active as well. As a result of the steps which were taken and the improved organization of the work the trend which had been manifested in recent years of increased recurrent criminality is being restricted. Delinquencies are exposed sooner and better and so are concealed economic crimes. The amounts of compensation for damages are being increased. Currently the country has a good social order which is being maintained and real conditions have been created for the protection of the rights and the legitimate interests of the citizens. Rayon inspectors, who are the main unit within the system of the people's militia, account for an important share of this success.

At the December 1978 National Conference on Problems of Social Prevention and the Role of Rayon Inspector In It, the comrade minister pointed out that the MVR leadership considers this personnel "a powerful organized force which can and must be increasingly included in and yield even greater social contribution to resolving the major and highly rewarding tasks of the People's Militia."

In accordance with the tasks set by the BCP Central Committee, the MVR leadership and by the comrade minister personally, during the 5 years which have passed since the conference a number of steps were taken to enhance the level of work of the rayon inspectors.

Currently they are making a notable contribution to preventing, stopping and exposing crimes and other delinquencies. Every year they prevent and block nearly 50 percent of all felonies and about 40 percent of all economic crimes. Many rayon inspectors could compete with operatives in terms of their participation in exposing the crimes committed in their microrayon.

The rayon inspectors have also improved their activities in protecting socialist property, enforcing passport regulations, controlling objects creating a general threat, and interacting with the other services of the NM, DS [State Security], PO [Fire Prevention] and GV. The rayon inspectors have become more skilled in implementing their main assignments. They are relying more extensively on the help of the primary party organizations, the Fatherland Front and Komsomol aktivs and the voluntary detachments of the working people. The conclusion is that they are currently implementing their main function of organizing the prevention of delinquencies in the microrayon more successfully.

Taking all of this into consideration, the leadership of the MVR and DNM rate positively the activities carried out in implementing the assignments set at the 1978 national conference, the MVR 1981 national conference and the conference for the People's Militia in 1982.

Lt Gen Ivan Dimitrov then discussed the need for decisively upgrading the quality and efficiency of the struggle against recidivist crime, idleness and drunkenness.

He stressed that resolving problems of recidivist crime largely determines the successful implementation of the strategic task set by the party of limiting and totally uprooting crime.

For the sake of justice we should point out that some positive results have been achieved in this respect, a certain credit for which goes to the rayon inspectors.

Despite the efforts which were made, the results of the struggle against recidivism are not consistent with the changes in the current situation and the requirements based on it. This task is being underestimated in a number of areas. Some rayon inspectors fail to display the necessary activeness in gathering exhaustive information on the number of people who have been sentenced by the court living in their rayons and how many of them are recidivists or are crime-oriented. That is why not all delinquent individuals have been registered and a large percentage of them are not under surveillance.

Exchange of information on criminally identifiable individuals who change settlements or enterprises is not satisfactory.

The main reason for the unsatisfactory condition of administrative supervision is the lowered exigency and responsibility shown by the managements of units and the aspiration of some rayon inspectors to be relieved from their duties regarding such individuals and specific work involving them.

A problem closely related to recidivism is that of idleness, which is increasingly proving to be one of the main factors for crime in our country. Practical experience has indicated that many shortcomings exist in the struggle against idleness in the activities of the People's Militia including the rayon inspectors. The reasons for the unsatisfactory effectiveness of this struggle are the underestimating of the social danger presented by this phenomenon.

Another major crime factor, which is also related to recidivism--the abuse of alcohol--also causes major problems. One of the reasons for the fact that the level of delinquencies committed by drunks has not declined is the unsatisfactory control over the observance of anti-alcohol regulations.

The quality of administrative surveillance of criminally identifiable individuals must be decisively improved. In such activities, in addition to the rayon inspectors, the junior rayon inspectors, the supernumerary personnel and the patrol-post services of the patrol sectors must become purposefully involved.

We must comprehensively strengthen the interaction between the rayon inspectors and the operative personnel dealing with crime. Along with the recidivists, we must promptly identify all individuals who may be expected to commit

crimes and organize constant obvious and operative supervision of such individuals.

In this connection the rayon inspectors must develop an organization for the prompt identification of idlers who display an openly antisocial behavior and warn them without delay of the steps which will be taken against them unless they find jobs.

Great attention should also be paid to minors who neither work nor go to school.

The speaker further emphasized that under the conditions of the development of socialist democracy and the advancement of our political system, the question of increasing our contribution to the creation of an atmosphere and social environment in the microrayons such as to guarantee most completely and most factually the political, moral and legal protection of all citizens assumes increasing social significance and particular relevance.

Over the past 5 years the process of the growth of the rayon inspectors as the main organizers of the protection of public order continued to develop. With the application of the new approach based on the patrol sector, the rayon inspector is the link between the patrol-post service and the system for social prevention in residential areas.

The improvement which has taken place in the work of the rayon inspectors in the protection of public order, however, is still not consistent with the steadily worsening day-to-day situation.

Disturbances of the peace at night, particularly in the large cities, cases of hooliganism and moral slackness as well as severe traffic accidents are frequent phenomena. Naturally, matters should not be oversimplified. Such events are caused for a number of reasons. One of them, however, which should not be underemphasized, is the unsatisfactory level of preventive work done by the rayon inspectors and the units for social prevention in the microrayons.

The reliable maintenance of public order calls for the establishment of a properly coordinated system for interaction between the patrol-post service and the active units on duty, with the extensive involvement of the voluntary detachments of the working people.

In addition to their other obligations, the rayon inspectors must pay attention to preventive work with vehicle drivers who violate traffic rules and threaten traffic safety along streets and roads.

Coordination with all public formations must be strengthened, such as the voluntary detachments of the working people, comrades' courts, centers for educational work at places of residence, councils for prevention at places of work, and others.

Another problem which was extensively discussed by the speaker was ensuring the comprehensive and reliable protection of socialist property.

In accordance with the stipulations of Council of Ministers Decree No 52 extensive work has been already accomplished. After years of waiting a number of steps were taken. Some basic problems and measures stipulated in the decree, however, were not carried out to their completion.

The current participation of the rayon inspectors in the struggle for preventing waste, carelessness, theft and other encroachments on socialist property is not consistent with their possibilities and the stricter requirements. Insufficient concern is shown in strengthening the protection of sites, the supervision of VM [explosives], VOP, and others. The expected change in the signaling activities of rayon inspectors has not taken place as yet.

Particularly topical today is the task of protecting socialist property in agriculture. The efforts of the rayon and junior rayon inspectors in terms of the APK [agroindustrial complexes] should be directed toward the prevention of waste, negligence, theft and appropriation of agricultural commodities.

The rayon inspectors must substantially increase their contribution to the struggle against thefts of money and valuables from banks and in the course of moving such valuables from and to banks.

The need to organize a strong passport regimen and administrative supervision of foreigners is another important problem. The work in this area has been improved in recent years. However, the achievements are insufficient. The situation with the passport regimen and control of foreigners in our country has still not been made fully consistent with the laws and the new requirements. Major difficulties and shortcomings are allowed to occur in the address registration of Bulgarian and foreign citizens.

The administrative-penal practices of rayon inspectors concerning the violators of address registration regulations are insufficiently effective.

The passports regimen is insufficiently used in the struggle against crime.

The successful implementation of assignments depends to the greatest extent on the ability of the rayon inspector to apply the class-party and political approach to his daily work. This means that he must always be guided by the party's program and decisions. He must display political maturity, moral purity and persistence in the struggle for their implementation. He must display high political consciousness and a feeling of responsibility in carrying out his assignments.

All of this demands of him to work outside his office. He must make use of his working time more flexibly and optimally. He must spend most of his time on the street, in contact with people.

It must not be forgotten even for a single moment that attention toward the working person is the main factor which determines the meaning, content and general objective of our work. Today there is no task more important than the struggle for high standards and legality.

Lenin's stipulation to the effect that "the cadres decide everything" becomes exceptionally relevant today. The question of the selection, training, upbringing, discipline, legality and standards maintained in the work of the rayon inspectors must be a constant concern, for a number of weaknesses and negative phenomena exist which concern us.

This applies to violations and crimes committed by officials who have been entrusted with protecting the law and order.

The study of the reasons and conditions which have caused such violations indicate that some chiefs and political education organs underestimate problems related to the selection, individual educational work and discipline of rayon inspectors. Discipline and self-discipline have still not become criteria in assessing their activities.

The level of direct guidance and concern for the ideological-political and professional development of the rayon inspectors is of essential importance in improving the organization of their work and achieving greater and more lasting results in the struggle against crime and other delinquencies.

The main efforts of the leadership, from the DNM to the rayon administration, must be focused on the further development of the rayon inspectors as the main figures in the NM organs in the microrayons. Their tasks will not be reduced. Conversely, as the voluntary principle is enlarged and as a result of the application of the principle of double jurisdiction and the new preventive administrative measures stipulated in the ZNM [Law on the People's Militia] they will be increased and become more complex. This requires a new approach not only in terms of the individual organization, style and methods of work of the rayon inspector but also a new approach to managing them. To this effect it is necessary to improve the system of supervision over and help to the rayon inspectors by their immediate superiors. A proper attitude and understanding must be developed in all managers and on all levels concerning the institution of the rayon inspector; the content, organization and method of training of rayon inspectors must be improved; the placement of rayon inspectors in connection with the development of the new housing complexes and changes in the current situation must be assessed. This is a relevant task also in terms of the appointment of rayon inspectors in APK: their independence and initiative of action must be asserted and responsibility for law and order in the microrayons must be increased.

In conclusion, Lt Gen Ivan Dimitrov reemphasized that the success of our activities and the strength of the MVR organs lie in their unbreakable ties with the working people and the daily help and support provided by the People's Councils, the Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions and the Dimitrov Komsomol. He expressed his warm gratitude to them from this lofty rostrum.

A coreport on the problems discussed at the expanded national conference was presented by Col Boncho Angelov, deputy chief in charge of public order in the Varna People's Militia Administration. He discussed the problem of improving the interaction between the rayon inspectors and the state and

public organs and organizations under the conditions of the double subordination of the People's Militia. He stressed that the base for expanding such interaction is the comprehensive program drafted by the Varna Okrug BCP Committee for the struggle against crime and antisocial actions in the okrug, which was adopted at the November 1976 Plenum and expanded and updated in 1983 in the spirit of the theoretical elaborations and practical approaches developed by T. Zhivkov. The concern shown for improving the interaction with the public under the conditions of the double jurisdiction created real prerequisites for improving the efficiency of prevention and achieving positive results in the overall activities of the People's Militia in Varna Okrug.

In his coreport Col Krustyu Stoynev, chief of the V. Levski Rayon MVR administration in Sofia discussed the question of ensuring good interaction between rayon inspectors and other MVR officials in the microrayon. In its work for organizing the efficient interaction between rayon inspectors and the remaining services, the rayon administration management has given priority to problems related to ensuring the safety of the rayon. Periodically the tasks involved in joint activities and the means for their implementation are refined by the RI [rayon inspectors] and the DS personnel. The second direction along which the efforts are concentrated is the unity of action between the RI and the operative services of the NM in the struggle against felonies and economic crime. A particularly serious problem for the rayon is that of criminal activities and the efforts of the rayon inspectors are actively used in resolving it. The joint work between the RI and the other services in protecting the economy is most clearly manifested in the implementation of the requirements of Council of Ministers Decree No 52.

The coreport submitted by Lt Col Neno Stoev, deputy chief of the Yambol OU [Okrug Administration] of the MVR for NM affairs was listened to with interest. He described the activities of the leadership of the Okrug MVR Administration in improving the preventive work done by the rayon inspectors in the microrayon in the struggle against crime and in keeping felons under observation. Great concern is shown for the moral-political and professional growth of such personnel, whose social functions are becoming increasingly important.

Various forms of supervision and providing methodical aid to the RI are used in terms of their practical activities. To this effect extensive use is being made of Soviet experience and the possibilities offered by the socialist competition.

The following rayon inspectors described their experience in practically resolving the problems discussed at the conference: Major Manol Dimitrov, Pernik MVR RU, Major Petko Todorov, Second Sofia MVR RU, Senior Lt Ivan Evgeniev, Shumen MVR RU, Col Lyuben Nikolov, chief of the OOR Blagoevgrad MVR RU, and Capt Aleko Alekov, Gorna Oryakhovitsa MVR RU (published separately).

Other rayon inspectors spoke as well.

Capt Ivan Tsvetkov, from the Second Plovdiv MVR RU, spoke of the organization developed for the supervision of felons subject to the preventive-administrative measure as per articles 39 and 40a of the ZNM. Such supervision covers

several basic areas: open militia surveillance in the patrol sector, provided by the OR, RI, the SPOOR [Voluntary Public Order Detachments] and the post-militiamen in the permanent posts; surveillance by the social protection forces in charge of the preservation of public order--the educational work centers, prevention councils, DOT, the coordination council and others; gathering information on the behavior of felons provided by the personnel of drinking establishments and their relatives interested in their rehabilitation. Such preventive measures have yielded results. The individuals who are subject to such steps did not commit crimes in 1983 for the duration of the application of the measure, with the exception of two cases as per Article 272 of the Penal Code, the perpetrators of which were prosecuted for systematic violation of restrictions.

Major Velichko Stefanov, of the Byala MVR RU, discussed some elements of the organization of the work in the conurbation system which it services and the interaction between NM personnel and state organs and public organizations. Major successes were achieved in the supervision of felons and in the preservation of public order and the struggle against crime as a result of such joint work.

Senior Lt Dimitur Tsonev of the Razgrad MVR RU shared the experience acquired in organizing the work on providing a strong passport regimen and control of foreigners with the help of the NM and the public. Considering the importance of this matter, it has been periodically discussed by the rayon administration leadership. Training rallies with the officers, classes with militiamen and conferences with public organs and organizations, at which the question was discussed and assessments and conclusions were drawn, had a positive influence. Punishments were used for educational purposes.

Major Khristo Dobrev from the Kazanluk MVR RU drew the attention of those present to the rich experience gained in the struggle against delinquencies in his rayon. He tries above all to make a profound study of the processes in agriculture and to determine the reasons for crimes, on the basis of which he takes the necessary steps. For the first time in the country, the mobile protection of the field property of the APK and the private farmers has been set up in the conurbation system served by Major Dobrev. Prevention is the starting principle in the struggle against felonies and economic crimes. Great attention is paid also to keeping felons and new minor and infant violators under observation.

The participants in the national conference of rayon inspectors heard with profound attention and great interest the statement by Col Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs (published separately).

Finally, Major Gen Todor Penev, deputy director of the NM, announced the orders and decisions on presenting awards to rayon inspectors and leading MVR personnel.

The conference was closed by Lt Gen Ivan Dimitrov, deputy minister of internal affairs and director of the NM.



The work of the Second National Conference of Rayon Inspectors, the report, the coreports and the statements lead to the conclusion that it will become the base for a new upsurge in improving and enhancing the quality and efficiency of the rayon inspectors. This upsurge will be our best way to repay the concern and trust of the party and the government in the MVR organs. It will encourage the personnel to engage in new heroic accomplishments in honor of the national party conference and the 40th anniversary of the socialist revolution in our country and the creation of the MVR organs.

Speech by Minister Stoyanov

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 7 Mar 84 pp 1-2

[Statement by Lt Gen Dimitur Stoyanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs. Abridged]

[Text] Comrades:

Five years ago we held our first national conference with rayon inspectors, at which the place and role of the rayon inspector within the militia system and in social prevention were defined.

Today we are once again returning to these important and responsible problems. This is natural, bearing in mind the extensive theoretical and organizational activities of the party, carried out after the 12th Congress, the strict party requirements regarding improving the quality, discipline and productivity of labor and management and the significant qualitative changes which have taken place in all areas of social life.

In the course of the further enrichment and practical implementation of the historical April party line, the Central Committee, the Politburo and personally Comrade Todor Zhivkov paid exceptional attention to improving political relations, increasing the role of the people's masses as the makers of history and the development of socialist democracy as the main prerequisite for the further advancement of the activities of our entire political system and the harmonious shaping and assertion of the new socialist individual. The party is engaged in a most systematic and aggressive struggle to limit and reduce negative phenomena, crimes and other violations of the law, for creating a uniform system in the struggle against them and making full use of the forces and facilities of state and public organs and organizations and of all working people and for the further expansion of the social functions, tasks and responsibilities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The problems which must be resolved by the People's Militia at the present stage and the requirements regarding a decisive improvement in its activities fully apply to the rayon inspectors. Let me emphasize once again that the ministry's leadership considers the institution of rayon inspectors a powerful detachment entrusted with important and responsible tasks the successful solution of which greatly determines the creation of a tranquil and bright atmosphere in the microrayons and a feeling of confidence and safety among the citizens.

During the past period the managements of the DNM and the territorial units made great efforts to improve the supervision and organization of the work of the rayon inspectors and their training, education and professional growth.

The structure of the rayon inspectors improved significantly after the 1978 conference. The institution of the senior rayon inspector was strengthened. Under the conditions of a double jurisdiction he resolves a considerable range of problems related to joint activities in the struggle against crime and for the preservation of public order.

The activities of the junior rayon inspectors are being gradually energized. Their contribution to resolving problems in rural rayons is increasing. The appointment of new rayon inspectors in the APK will contribute even further to the solution of such problems.

Great successes were achieved in the comprehensive solution of problems related to the preservation of public order on the basis of the new uniform deployment of the patrol-post service with the active participation of the rayon inspectors. The principle of assigning the personnel of control-post services to specific sectors and the structuring of the voluntary detachments of the working people on the basis of production facilities increased the personal involvement and individual responsibility for preserving public order in the serviced rayon. This new method proved its efficiency and must be asserted and increasingly applied in the future.

The responsibility and involvement of the rayon inspectors in protecting socialist property and in increasing traffic safety has increased.

Their increased contribution to the prevention and exposure of criminal delinquencies and economic crimes is a proof of their enhanced professional skills. In recent years the participation of the rayon inspectors in exposing crimes committed by unidentified individuals increased by 35.1 percent for the country at large. In 1983 they identified 16.8 percent of the encroachments committed against socialist property.

The rayon inspector earned the gratitude and respect of the working people for his dedicated work, concern and attention paid to the working people. Increasingly, in the case of difficult and complex situations, the citizens seek his help, intervention and support. The large number of letters of thanks and increased publications in the press and radio and television broadcasts indisputably prove that our rayon inspector is indeed asserting himself as an individual with high political and social reputation and as a responsible, effective and necessary figure directly involved in the life and management of the microrayon.

These accomplishments and results are a good foundation for the further advancement of the work of the rayon inspectors and for an even more self-critical and critical analysis and evaluation with a view to developing the necessary organization and taking efficient measures to surmount weaknesses and omissions.

The importance of this is enhanced by the fact that at the present stage there still exist major shortcomings in terms of the registration, observation and open surveillance of felons with a record, recidivists in particular. The condition of administrative surveillance is unsatisfactory as well. More use is being made of the stipulation based on Article 12 of the Law on the People's Militia in the struggle against economic crime and traffic safety. There are frequent disturbances of tranquility during the night, particularly in the large cities; there are cases of hooliganism, moral slackness and severe accidents which poison the atmosphere and the social environment in the microrayons. No firm measures are being taken against idleness and in the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism as basic reasons for crime.

The difficult operative situation, the stricter criteria and demands of the working people and the existing difficult and unresolved problems call for taking comprehensive steps leading to the creation of an even more efficient organization for the overall improvement of the activities of the People's Militia and the rayon inspectors and combining their forces with the state and public organizations and the entire public in the struggle against negative phenomena and crime and for a firm public order.

The overall work of the People's Militia in the respective microrayons largely depends on the proper organization and standards of work of the rayon inspectors and on interaction and exchange of information with operative, investigative and other services. For this reason, in the future as well the ministry's leadership will continue to set for the DNM and the managements of the territorial units and political education organs very strict requirements concerning the quality of the work of the rayon inspectors.

The main, the basic prerequisite for the efficient work of the rayon inspector is to be thoroughly familiar with his territory and with all objects and individuals of current interest. He must continuously study and analyze the state of crime and manifestation of crime-triggering factors in his rayon. He must improve his knowledge of crime and master the tactical forms and methods for crime exposure and prevention. With the help of the party, social and state organs and organizations, the rayon inspector must direct his activities toward the creation of a strong social climate and a cheerful social and living environment.

Order, tranquility and safety, respect for the norms of socialist community life, legality and the socialist way of life are organic requirements facing every member of society. That is why the protection of the rights and freedoms of the citizens and of the individual and socialist property from criminal encroachments and ensuring socialist legal order in the respective microrayon must be the prime duty of every rayon inspector and the principal criterion in the assessment of his work.

We must steadily improve interaction with the sociopolitical organs and organizations in implementing the joint resolutions of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Komsomol Central Committee and the MVR.

The uniform social prevention system developed in our country became a fact a long time ago. The People's Militia must provide full assistance and coordination in the activities of centers for educational work at places of residence and the prevention councils. It must strengthen its ties with the public and broaden the social base of its activities. The hundreds of thousands of excellent Bulgarian citizens who are members of voluntary units of the working people, the centers for educational work at places of residence, the prevention councils at places of work, the children's pedagogical rooms and others can and must work even more energetically, shoulder to shoulder with the officers and sergeants of the People's Militia for achieving an even more effective preventive work.

The rayon inspector must always work to energize the centers for educational work. He must rely on the help of voluntary workers and individual sections without taking over their functions.

The ability of the rayon inspector to work properly under the conditions of a double jurisdiction is particularly important in improving the organization and effectiveness of comprehensive prevention activities. Many rayon inspectors are heads of NM and PO subunits in their conurbation system or else have been elected council members. The People's Councils must be given extensive information and substantiated suggestions. This will help the executive committees and their organs in waging the struggle against crime and strengthening socialist legality.

The question of the struggle against repeated crime, idleness and drunkenness is particularly grave. A study of some exposed crimes indicates that repeaters are at the root of their preparation and commission. On other occasions as well, we have emphasized that the rayon inspector must be familiar with the recidivists living in his rayon. He must have a specific plan for work with them. He must exert constant and daily supervision over them in most close contact with the respective criminal services. Released criminals must not only be given employment but become the subject of continuing interest in the way they are being accepted by the respective collectives, the manner in which they participate in the labor process, are their daily life problems resolved promptly, and the nature of their behavior at home and in society. Unity of action among all services and subunits of the Ministry of Internal Affairs must be steadily improved in resolving the problems of the struggle against recurrent crime; the assistance of the public organs and organizations must be sought. Our organs must actively participate in the study and elimination of the reasons and conditions for the existence of repeated crime.

Idleness and drunkenness are most closely related to repeated crime. They are the base of many other negative phenomena as well. Their adverse effect exceeds the framework of illegal actions and causes great social harm to the family and the district and disturbs the microclimate in the rayon.

One of the most important trends in the work of the rayon inspector, which enables him efficiently to influence the state of criminality in his rayon, is his uncompromising and persistent struggle against idleness and drunkenness and the factors which contribute to such phenomena. We must develop

an efficient system for identifying, registering and supervising idlers, drunks and hooligan drivers, which would ensure their effective supervision. The rayon inspector must be familiar with the places where idlers and drunks gather, where they most frequently plan and carry out actions of hooliganism, where they disturb the peaceful life of the residents and create tension and an atmosphere of fear. He can and must suggest measures for the prompt mandatory treatment of alcoholics and for the strict observance of regulations governing the sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages and the employment of idlers. It is particularly important for the rayon inspector to use the assistance of the public in such activities.

A new economic approach and mechanism is being applied in the country; the party stipulation that the state is the owner and the collective is the manager is being practically implemented. What is the role of the rayon inspector in such cases?

He must be familiar with the economic and trade enterprises, their situation and their vulnerable spots. He must constantly study and submit proposals to his rayon administration and to the respective state and economic organs regarding their protection with a view to preventing crime, waste, negligence, accidents and fires in accordance with the stipulations of Council of Ministers Decree No 52.

It is important to energize and improve the quality of the signaling functions of rayon inspectors. We must display persistence and exigency in eliminating conditions which could facilitate the commission of crime. The chiefs of the rayon administrations must exert efficient and effective control over such work by the rayon inspectors. The results of such work must become one of the basic indicators and criteria in their evaluation.

Today particular attention must be paid to developing a strong passport system. This is a problem directly related to protecting the security and interests of the country and in the struggle against crime.

Despite the steps which were taken, many foreigners who visit Bulgaria find lodgings in private apartments without any address registration. Some of them engage in crimes, take part in currency smuggling deals and lead young people to engage in immoral activities. For this reason the shortcomings and omissions in this area create conditions for causing serious ideological, political and moral harm to society. All of this demands of the rayon inspectors to work even more closely with house managements and house councils and to provide more systematic control over the observance of the passport regulations and the protection of the interests and dignity of our state and of Bulgarian citizens.

Comrades:

The party's tasks of improving the quality and discipline and social management set new requirements to the MVR organs. These are the criteria and requirements which must guide our approach in determining the tasks related to improving the guidance of rayon inspectors.

The managements on all levels of the People's Militia, the DNM and the rayon administrations must make further efforts to strengthen the role and place of the rayon inspector within the militia system and strengthen his authority and reputation in the microrayon. A proper attitude toward the institution of the rayon inspector must be developed, eliminating any kind of underestimating of his activities.

Particularly important at the present stage is the work of the command personnel in improving the coordination of activities of rayon inspectors with the other services of the People's Militia.

To this effect, the leading personnel, particularly that of the rayon administrations, must be thoroughly familiar with the current situation. It must gather and study available current and other information, bearing in mind the assignments set by the respective rayon and obshtina party committees and people's councils and public organizations and, on this basis, to formulate, direct and specifically guide the activities of rayon inspectors.

No less than once a month the rayon chief must gather together the rayon inspectors, assess the current situation and in accordance with it issue them specific assignments. In turn, the rayon inspectors must also gather information on the situation in the microrayon, inform their superiors and submit proposals aimed at improving the work and promptly eliminating delinquencies and prosecuting the perpetrators.

On the basis of a profound knowledge of the current situation and the gathered and studied information, planning the activities of the rayon inspector must be significantly improved. The plans they formulate must be related to the implementation of the overall assignments of the rayon administration and ensure purposefulness in their daily work in the microrayon.

The comprehensive and systematic work of the rayon inspector in his territory raises as particularly relevant the question of the proper structure of his working day. No stereotype should be allowed in resolving this problem. The working time of the rayon inspector must be based on the condition of the current situation, the time during which criminal actions and violations of public order are committed and the requirements of the citizens; it must also be coordinated with the working time of the other services of the People's Militia. In establishing the structure of the working time two-thirds of the inspector's work must be spent among the people, in the study of the rayon and in supervising vulnerable areas and groups, gather information and engage in general preventive actions.

In this connection it is necessary to reduce paper work and the number of meetings and to provide the rayon inspectors with the necessary amount of time for work in the microrayon.

Very serious administrative problems exist in connection with our joint activities with the other state and public organs and organizations, i.e., in relation to the efficient functioning of the unified front in the struggle against crime and other negative phenomena under the conditions of the double

jurisdiction. In such activities the efforts of the management must be directed toward improving information relations with the other organs and organizations, strengthening the initiative and signaling functions of the rayon inspectors and creating the necessary organization for systematically informing party committees and people's councils.

The entire leadership of the People's Militia--the deputy chiefs of okrug administrations, the chiefs of rayon administrations and their deputies--must clearly realize that common preventive work is their immediate task and that it is precisely they who are responsible for its efficient implementation. As members of the executive committees and as councilors they can and must fuller use of their possibilities in coordinating and decisively improving the overall management of unified activities in the struggle against negative phenomena.

The DNM and the managements of the okrug and rayon administrations, the political education organs and the party and Komsomol organizations must resolve important problems related to the proper selection of rayon inspectors, their political, professional and ideological training, the proper performance of their work and their moral and material incentives.

No compromises must be made in the future regarding the appointment of rayon inspectors with secondary education.

The ministry's leadership considers that it is proper and necessary for the rayon inspector to spend a longer time working within the same microrayon and, if possible, to live in the same rayon. This would enable him to become most familiar with the current situation, with the residents and with vulnerable areas and to exert a positive influence in improving public order and reducing delinquencies. Here as well we must apply the principle of the growth of cadres on their jobs in terms of duties and wages.

The accurate determination of the individual contribution of the rayon inspector to the overall activities of our organs plays a particular part in cadre work. Unquestionably, it is difficult to formulate overall criteria in assessing such efforts. However, the positive results of the initiative for "model rayon service" indicate the accurate ways which must be asserted in the future.

The nature of the activities of the rayon inspector call for developing within him the ability to see the unusual, that which someone else might ignore, and to detect even the most minute symptoms of changes in the situation and to react quickly and competently as a public order agent should.

The rayon inspector must be a person with high political, legal, educational and general culture, great humaneness and responsiveness. He must embody the observance of the law and the state system. He must be honest and conscientious and have a developed sense of duty and responsibility and be a model of behavior at home and in public. The working people must see in him a person who is always ready to help them, to give them sensible advice, to protect and encourage them and to strengthen their faith in the justice of the socialist social system.

Comrades:

The ministry's leadership will continue to pay great attention to improving the quality and efficiency of the work of the rayon inspectors and to enhance their role and reputation as an important link within the system of the people's militia.

In the spirit and essence of the resolutions of the 12th Congress, the forthcoming national party conference and the January BCP Central Committee Plenum, we must organize and mobilize the entire managerial and executive personnel of the People's Militia, the organs in charge of political education and the party and Komsomol organizations for decisively enhancing the quality of the work, the further improvement of the management of the forces and facilities of the militia, for high-level organization and discipline and for prompt efficiency and responsibility with a view to restricting and reducing negative phenomena, crimes and other antisocial actions and create a strong public order.

The ministry's leadership is confident that you understand the high responsibility and the trust voted to you and that you will make the necessary efforts for a qualitative upturn in the work and for the implementation of the party decisions.

#### Speeches by Regional Officials

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 7 Mar 84 p 3

[Text] Major Manol Dimitrov, Senior Rayon Inspector, Pernik MVR RU: Individual Patronage at Home and At Work

One of my strongest weapons in the struggle against antisocial actions is preventive work and the active support of the public.

Many years of practice have convinced me that a large percentage of cases of hooliganism, family disputes, immoral actions, criminal actions and other violations of public order are the result of alcohol. That is why it became necessary to seek, together with the public, more efficient forms of individual educational work. We are already successfully applying individual patronage at work and at home.

Patronage at home is provided by the public council of the center for educational work, detachment members, members of the comrades' court, Fatherland Front activists and others. We involve in the job patronage activists from the prevention councils, party, Komsomol and trade union figures and good production workers. In order for the people covered by the patronage system to be influenced more efficiently, I have organized very good interaction between the center for educational work at home and the prevention council at work.

In my rayon 34 volunteers have assumed patronage of 42 individuals. At the same time, we talk with their families, their relatives and their neighbors.



We make maximal efforts to determine the reasons and conditions for alcohol abuse. In this respect I seek the active help of the medical workers in the rayon. In accordance with the legal documents and directives of the chairman of the Pernik Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, the sale of alcoholic beverages to such individuals and to minors is forbidden. I pay serious attention to controlling all bartenders, waiters and managers and have drawn up 16 statements against them for violations they have committed.

I regularly meet with the managers and heads of shops and brigades in the respective enterprises. The preventive intervention by labor collectives plays an exceptionally favorable role. Let me give a specific example:

M. B., a worker at the Lenin SMK [Economic Metallurgical Combine] abused his alcohol consumption. His temper and lack of restraint while drunk led him to the commission of two actions of hooliganism and to numerous violations of public order and labor discipline. I studied the person and determined that he lives under poor conditions in an unsuitable environment. On our insistence the combine's management gave him suitable housing. His brigade fellow workers surrounded him with warmth and attention. I held frequent conversations and talks with him. For the past 4 to 5 years he no longer abuses alcohol. He has become a very good production worker and for the past 2 years has been a member of a detachment.

Comrades' courts are of great help to me in our joint struggle against alcoholism. With the help of public condemnation we create an atmosphere of intolerance of this dangerous vice. Last year alone 34 such cases were tried in my rayon. I could cite a number of examples of positive influence. What is characteristic, however, is the example involving G. I., divorced with three children who were frequently left without supervision. Now he works regularly, the children are well-clothed and go to school.

Naturally, these are not the only methods of work. Depending on the situation and the specifics of the individual case, we select the ways and means of influence. What is important is knowledge of the microrayon and of the people, and to coordinate the work among the different social organs and organizations and among the NM personnel. This is the secret for success in the effective struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism.

Senior Lt Ivan Evgeniev, Shumen MVR RU Rayon Inspector: Daily Control of Universally Dangerous Substances

With every passing year substances presenting general danger are being increasingly used in agriculture, industry and construction. Illegally held weapons remain--relics of the past, old models, or hunting rifles owned by now-deceased individuals or hunters no longer members of the BLRS [Bulgarian Hunting and Fishing Union]. For this reason we, the rayon inspectors, must be perfectly familiar with the laws regarding the production, storage and use of dangerous substances, on the one hand, and, on the other, together with the operative personnel of the NM and the DS, to organize and engage in constant investigative work to identify owners of illegally owned weapons and ammunition.

I cover the conurbation system of Ivanski village. I have in my rayon warehouses for virulent toxic substances (SDOV), explosives (VV), two rifle clubs with their proper armaments, combat weapons for the protection of socialist property and more than 250 hunting rifles. All storage areas for VV, SDOV and weapons and ammunition are furnished in accordance with the stipulations of the law and the regulation and are the subject of strict and systematic control over their storage, use and accountability. Thanks to permanent contacts with the managements of the APK, the agronomists in charge of plant protection, the KhEI [Hygiene-Epidemiological Administration] and the KOS correction and drainage system of the OOR department, we have prevented the commission of crimes and accidents in recent years.

As chief of the NM and PO service of the conurbation system, I have under me five junior rayon inspectors who are also well-trained in problems of control and are doing useful work in this direction. Every one of them has project files for warehouses and sites, and identification cards for individuals handling such matters and hunters. If omissions have been noted we take quick measures for their elimination. If necessary we seal off the projects until our stipulations have been met.

In order to ensure even more efficient control we use the system of specific investigations in which we involve the voluntary rayon inspectors and detachment members. Such concentrated investigations yield good preventive results.

During the past few years a considerable number of firearms and hunting equipment have been confiscated in our okrug. I personally detected an illegally owned combat carbine, a hunting rifle and a brand-new parabolam pistol imported from abroad in 1983. This indicates the need to enhance the strictness in border checks. In my view, greater attention should be paid by the newly created APK departmental militia to controlling SDOV used in agriculture. Its personnel must be trained and competent if successful results are to be achieved.

Major Petko Todorov, Senior Rayon Inspector, Second Sofia MRV RU: A New Structural-Functional Model for the Preservation of Public Order

In accordance with the tasks based on the national MVR conference of 1981 and the 1982 People's Militia Conference as well as the comprehensive program of the Sofia City BCP Committee for the Struggle Against Crime and Antisocial Actions, and with the direct assistance and participation of the rayon OOR-BNM and the Sofia City MVR administration, a new structural-functional model for the preservation of public order was applied in the Kolarov Rayon in Sofia. The permanent forces of the patrol-post service and all voluntary enterprise detachments were assigned to each patrol sector, and one of them was assigned the leading position. Furthermore, based on a specific schedule, we make use of the detachments on the territories of the district sections. With this new model for the preservation of public order the senior rayon inspector becomes the main figure, the head of the forces of the People's Militia including several rayon inspectors, the patrol-post service, the DOT specialized detachments in charge of the passport regimen, the KAT [Control of Automotive Transport] and officials in charge of the struggle

against antisocial actions by minors and juveniles. The senior rayon inspector directs these forces wherever it is most necessary and where crimes and violations of public order are committed.

Our patrol sector consists of five sections with five itineraries. Each one is covered by an automotive patrol of the MOP, two foot patrol sections of the PPS and three independent units of detachment members. Every day, between the hours of 1900 and 2300, 28 people are at work. The senior rayon inspector supervises the proper use of the equipment and the prompt reaction to all received signals. We make efforts to maintain regular contact between the staff and the routes and to be in permanent touch with the remaining patrol sectors, particularly when we block areas in order to capture fugitives or seize illegally appropriated automobiles. We are in radio contact with the MOP units, directing them to the most vulnerable areas and to individuals whom we keep more frequently under surveillance.

We can clearly say that violations of the law during the period saturated with the forces of the NM and DOT have declined and the conditions and prerequisites for the commission of crimes and antisocial actions have been reduced to a minimum. The public is assisting us greatly. In turn, we try to be more flexible and more efficient. Thus, for example, after being informed that meat was being taken across the fence of the Rodopa DSP [State Economic Enterprise], we were forced to extend one of our routes and the results were not late in arriving. Two of the perpetrators were caught on the spot. Again based on received information we found the drivers of more than 20 state motor vehicles which were not being parked at their proper place. We caught some of the drivers at the precise moment when they were siphoning off gasoline for personal needs.

In the course of my activities as senior rayon inspector I try to provide the necessary control and management of the forces working in the patrol sector, paying particular attention to the young and the newly appointed rayon inspectors so that they may be properly introduced to the work and trained. I draw up schedule cards, draft instructions for the detachments, supervise their precise implementation and coordinate the work related to restrictive measures based on the ZNM.

Systematic control, able management and prompt reporting of results are major prerequisites in achieving better results by the forces participating in the preservation of public order within the control sector. Every Friday a study of the results is made by the entire personnel between 2 and 3 pm and additional measures are formulated for the elimination of weaknesses. Once monthly I submit an information report to the party bureaus, section Fatherland Front committees and public order staffs.

In sharing my experience, let me emphasize that the establishment of control sectors and the institution of senior rayon inspectors are quite successful methods for more coordinated work between the public and the forces of the People's Militia in the struggle for a firm public order and the fact that major accomplishments in this respect are anticipated.

Col Lyuben Nikolov, Chief of the OOR Department of the Blagoevgrad MVR Okrug Administration: Optimal Use of Forces

The variety of the assignments of the rayon inspectors creates some real difficulties and increases the responsibility of the department in charge of public order and the management of the rayon administrations in terms of the organization of their work and the most efficient utilization of their working time.

In recent years a great deal has been done in our okrug to improve the personnel. Progressive changes were made in management style and methods and the organization of the work is being steadily improved. As a result, the necessary prerequisites were created for the optimal utilization of the forces of the rayon inspectors for the successful implementation of the tasks facing the People's Militia in Blagoevgrad Okrug. The rapidly changing current situation calls for a proper reorientation of the forces of the rayon inspectors from one direction to another and the strict grading of their assignments in terms of relevance. In turn, this influences daily planning and implementation of assignments and increases the control criteria and demands of the chiefs extensive experience and flexibility as managers who have overall familiarity with the personal qualities and possibilities of the individual rayon inspectors.

As a result of proper selection, 63 percent of our rayon inspectors are under 40 years of age; 60 percent of them have higher training. The overwhelming majority have good moral, practical and political qualities. They have mastered the foundations of militia work and are conscientious employees. Rayon inspectors have not committed a single violation of socialist law, serious accidents or case of rudeness. This is largely due to their proper management and strict and daily control and improved current and long-term planning and greater discipline.

What do I mean by strict, daily and differentiated control? Here is an example:

After analyzing the results of the first half of 1983, the okrug administration management named rayon inspectors with whom individual work was done because of their unsatisfactory results. Some of them were issued warnings. This measure proved to be timely and effective. The assessment of their activities for the year showed that all seven rayon inspectors had improved their results.

Again last year, for the first time we applied the economic lever as a method for improving the quality of the work. At the very beginning of the year we announced that the wages of the rayon inspectors for 1984 will be based on the results of the preceding year. The okrug management implemented its plan and although minimally, the wages of the best were raised and of two inspectors, reduced.

The okrug administration management assesses on an annual basis the main problems of the work of the rayon inspectors: the way they organize their

work as heads of NM and PO services in the conurbation systems, their activities in the social prevention units, their role and place in implementing the comprehensive approach in the struggle against crime, and so on. At the same time, steps are taken to develop the rayon inspectors as socially involved individuals who work authoritatively and with the feeling of political personalities.

Capt Aleko Alekov, Gorna Oryakhovitsa MVR Rayon Administration Inspector:  
Comradeship, Trust and Mutual Aid

I have been rayon inspector for the past 6 years, covering part of Gorna Oryakhovitsa. In my rayon, which has a population of about 12,000, I have records on 44 felons. Nine of them are repeaters and 11 are juvenile delinquents.

My territory, which I cover with one operative worker for criminal activities and three for economic crimes, has 37 enterprises and establishments, one school, one hotel, three kindergartens, four hostels, nine restaurants and taverns, 64 stores, a hospital and passenger bus terminal. It is in these areas that most frequently materials and finished products from the public sector are stolen along with money and objects from residences, illegal appropriations of MPS, pickpocketing at the bus terminal and the stores, and actions of hooliganism in drinking establishments. In addition to the operative personnel, I rely in my work on three voluntary rayon inspectors and the help of 14 voluntary detachments, one of them based on the territorial principle.

I have developed with the operative personnel relations of comradeship, trust and mutual aid. However, I never forget that I must be the initiator and coordinator of the joint efforts aimed at eliminating conditions for criminal encroachments and involving the public in the struggle against negative phenomena. With my three colleagues I systematically visit enterprises and establishments. We jointly earmark measures and, together with the managers and the prevention councils, implement them. Throughout my rayon the stipulations of the Council of Ministers Article No 52 have been implemented. We have ensured proper fencing, lighting and a proper system of passes. All cash registers, bank premises and stores have been fortified. A total of 106 of them are guarded by the SOT. The stipulation formulated by Comrade T. Zhivkov regarding the owner and manager of socialist property is of basic importance in improving the work in this respect.

Primary accountability in the movement of materials and finished products was improved with the help of the operative workers; stricter control was introduced over the protection of cash. In order to eliminate waste and negligence we rely mostly on the prevention councils, drawing their attention to the elimination of the reasons for their existence. At the same time, we train and instruct detachment members in their struggle against economic crime. We periodically inform the labor collectives of the committed crimes, hold meetings with economic and party leaders and suggest proper steps. On our suggestion joint investigations with the obshtina committee for state and people's control are conducted.

I consider the work with the criminal investigator to be conducted on a suitable level. Together with him, the DPS inspectors and house managers we identify in the perpetrators of crimes or those who tend to engage in anti-social actions. We coordinate the forms of surveillance and control, and determine the procedure for reciprocal information regarding their behavior, surroundings and intentions. In order to obtain even greater and more accurate information we organize surveillance at the place of work and residence, using the DOT, house managers, immediate superiors, PO prevention personnel, good production workers and others. We frequently seek the assistance of Komsomol organizations and labor collectives for public influence and reeducation and appoint guardians.

The thus-created organization for the prevention of delinquencies, improved surveillance and control and ties with the public have had a positive influence on the crime rate in my rayon. During the past 3 years the number of malicious crimes declined by 12 percent; the detection of crimes committed by unknown individuals ranges between 91 and 95 percent and averages 72 percent on the basis of "hot" leads. I personally have prevented 85 and detected 72 crimes committed by unknown individuals.

The materials of the national conference with rayon inspectors, which was held on 28 February 1984 in Sofia, were prepared by an editorial team consisting of the following: Col Khristo Georgiev, Major Ventseslav Genchev and Lidiya Andreeva. Photographs by Major Slavi Slavov.

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NEW LAW SHORTENS LENGTH OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION, REPORT SHOWS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 March 84 p 2

[Article by Iveta Fryvaldska: "Ten-Year Compulsory School Attendance"]

[Text] Prague (From our correspondent)--Gradual and steadfast fulfilling of the decree of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium from 4 June 1976, and of the Document on Further Development of the Czechoslovak Pedagogic-Educational System, has established presuppositions for achieving a new, qualitatively higher level of our educational system. At the same time it has evoked the need for a new legislative modification of the elementary and secondary school system. Its proposal has already passed all preparatory stages and by the end of March it will be discussed by our highest legislative authority--The Federal Assembly of the CSSR.

What is basically at stake in the proposal of the new school law? It is based on the principle that the general development of socialist society, the application of findings of science and research, require people of a higher educational level. This means that more and more young people must be given conditions for achieving a complete secondary education. Therefore at the end of this school year 9-year compulsory school attendance will cease to exist, being extended to 10 years. Pupils will obtain elementary education at an 8-year elementary school from which, after graduation, they will enter one of the following types of secondary education: secondary training institutions, gymnasias, or secondary vocational schools (technical institutions). There during their first two grades they will complete the compulsory school attendance, while they can continue studying in the third and fourth year until they reach the comprehensive secondary education, which will be confirmed by a matriculation examination. If a pupil leaves the school after the second year and does not complete his study, he will gain no qualification. That is to say, the present elementary level of education is being canceled and a secondary level of education is being introduced.

The conversion to the new system of compulsory school attendance (all children and young people up to 16 years of age will have the status of a pupil) was executed gradually, in compliance with the curricular revision of the educational process. That is why up to now there has existed, parallel to the elementary school, also the 9-year elementary school. The latter will be terminated by 31 August of this year, and its graduates are the last pupils to whom the 9-year school attendance applies. Therefore, during this year's entry examinations to secondary vocational schools and to gymnasias it will be necessary to differentiate in the evaluation of the knowledge level of the children who studied according to the old conception, and those who proceeded according to the revised curriculum.

In its consequences, the introduction of the 10-year school attendance affects almost every family, thus it has become a matter of the entire society, evoking some questions. One of them is what to do with children who will not get to the secondary school of their choice, or who do not want to study despite the recommendation from their elementary school. In the former case, if there are vacancies in other secondary schools and the pupil has passed the entry examinations, but where he has applied there is an excessive number of applicants, he can choose another school. In the latter case the letter of the law will be enforced, which means that pertinent departments of Regional National Committees will directly determine which of the three possible schools (secondary training institutions, gymnasias, and secondary vocational schools) the pupil must enter.

After its approval by the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, the law covering the system of elementary and secondary schools will be basically valid from 1 September 1984. Only the part which concerns the acceptance procedures for the choice secondary schools and institutions will be applied immediately.

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PROMINENT JOURNAL PUBLISHES CRITICISM OF SED PRACTICES

East Berlin SINN UND FORM in German Vol 36 No 2, Mar-Apr 84 pp 290-312

[Article by Gabriele Eckart, consisting of interviews with "Hans" and "Inge", date and place not specified: "Two Taped Statements from the 'Havelobst' [Fruit Growing Region]"]

[Text] Hans (59), enterprise manager

I was born in Neufahrland. My father was a fruit farmer there. I trained in horticulture, first in Marquardt, then in Oftersleben; then I worked as young technician in the tree school. Then I had to go to war.

I belong to the generation that cannot refer to the good old days, as my parents can when they talk about the years after the Franco-Prussian War or the German Empire. I grew up in the time of economic crisis and unemployment; the situation of the small farmers was no different, we did not have enough to make ends meet. And then came Nazism. I went to school in Potsdam and was a glider enthusiast, in the amateur flying association. That was then integrated with the Hitler Youth, there came the uniforms and the drill, and I quit. It differed too grossly from what I wanted. Subconsciously somehow, these things did not fascinate me as much as other adolescents. At school I was almost the only one who was not in the Hitler Youth. When they had their practice sessions on Wednesdays, we had to go through disciplinary drill in turn, under our coach. He saw to it that we would like it better than the other kind.

My master was an active Nazi, a local peasant leader; he did not have much time for us. My next boss was church-oriented; he pretty much followed the crowd and let me be again. Lucky circumstances. And I had other interests, the girls. Something always kept me from joining the Hitler Youth.

Then I got into the Wehrmacht; after brief training I was sent east. There I started brooding.

We had been prepared for the sort of people the Russians were: second or third class, and for what was in store for us: throats slit and so forth, and as a young soldier you did believe it. I was a driver, something went wrong with the vehicle. My buddy, another soldier and I got stuck in a Ukrainian village. At night we stayed in a school, did not dare close our eyes. A teacher came who spoke German fairly well and asked us to clear out of the school, they wanted

to resume instruction there. He offered us different quarters. This teacher was well versed in German literary history and recited long poems to us, some by Heine, of whom we did not have the foggiest idea. He relieved us of our fear. When food got short and we took off to shoot ducks, they said to us: Listen, we can arrange it differently, and they included us in their rations. I had dysentery; the medic left a bag of outmeal and charcoal behind for me with which to cure myself. They were surprised I did not eat anything and invited me to visit a Ukrainian peasant. He had a terrific brandy, and I had to eat lard and a big apple, peeled, and sure enough, I got rid of my dysentery.

That got me thinking: But this is all different; they could long have done away with us. You need your own experience to form an opinion about such matters. Since then I only judge after having seen for myself. That is no mistrust, but life experience. If I remember the feelings I had when I went to Hungary. Here they had told me: the Hungarians . . .! I am ashamed I believed such nonsense. The same in Poland. So much cordiality, humanity . . . that is the way it kept happening to me.

After having been briefly in British captivity, I joined the party in 1945 and here in Neufahrland took part in the democratic land reform, the setting up of our self-administration and so forth. Before the war I had been rather apolitical, had kept out of things, which was not all that simple. After my war experience I would think: if one does nothing and lets things go their way, one has to blame oneself when something gets started one does not like.

I got a 5-hectare new farming plot from the land reform and then got married and worked as a new farmer till 1958. I recognized the limits to private farming and how things were moving ahead in agriculture and said to myself: something must be happening in horticulture too!

HOG (the Havel fruit growing region) had been written off even by the Weimar Republic as an area stewing in its own juice that would run out of steam. Nor did they know what to do with these many small producers and their plots in Nazi times. And now the degree of mechanization did not do anymore, the equipment there called for different dimensions. There were tendencies to adapt to such small-scale production; but that was not the way. I still think we must educate the trees in terms of the equipment we have, not vice versa. That means not first doing the planting and then developing a technology for it.

Added to that was what I had seen in the Ukraine: in my terms at the time inconceivably large fruit plantations, and what I knew from the literature of other countries. It triggered in me the initiatives to form a cooperative in Neufahrland aiming at large, cohesive fruit plantations of 5 or 10 or 30 hectares. Considering that they had only grown mixed fruit and one hectare alone for apples was already something special, it presented a dimension which initially seemed impossible to cope with. But new forms of cultivation and technology soon demonstrated it worked.

With help from experts, especially from Dr. K., who is known all over the GDR and in half of Europe though he is unfortunately not enough in demand here in Havelobst, we set up the "Werdersche Hecke" (Werder Hedge). This was a revolution in fruit growing. It met with great resistance from state management because we cultivated acreages suited for agriculture. Fruit growing was supposed to be confined to roads, slopes, edges and hillsides, but then we could

not have reached such a high degree of mechanization and such a high labor productivity. The scientists' objection was that our "Werdersche Hecke" had not been tested out. We ran the gauntlet; some said the methods were Chinese and others, they were capitalist, and we should not be allowed to go on with it. Not until in the third and fourth year the trees produced yields surpassing anything previously we were recognized.

We planted 200 to 300 trees per hectare, then 800, then new row intervals, new tree trimming, in shaping the tree-tops, for instance. When fruit farmers sit together they can discuss it all day long, including the trimming. The maximum today is 2,000 trees per hectare, the rule being 1,000. It turned out, even in the CSSR and in Hungary, that there is a limit.

The other cooperatives plant differently. What usually happens is that when one is highly praised in a kreis, the others turn sour. Out of opposition they told us: No, we do it differently. But then our "Werdersche Hecke" prevailed and is now the grand line.

We were able to offer cooperatives lagging behind in output: We can merge and give you the guarantee you will make as much as we do. That enlarges the enterprise. We had started with 58 hectares, 10 years later we had 2,000. Then we still had everything, even pigs and sheep, and kept trying to specialize, but that was not yet wanted.

Important is this: When we at the time in the cooperative specialized, step by step, on fruit growing, it came organically out of the development of the territory, it was not grafted on. But we had to look at Havelobst at large. There were still cooperatives that did not accomplish expanded reproduction on their own, which then became only possible through enterprise cooperation. We formed a cooperative association with uniform cultivation and joint arrangements for selling. The enterprises remained independent. There was no full-time management then. One was appointed secretary, he worked on a volunteer basis. First that would do, afterwards, no longer, the development going so fast, after all.

I had been the chairman of the cooperative for 17 years and then, after the eighth and ninth party congresses had asked for setting up large, 8 to 10,000-hectare fruit growing areas, received the mission to set up this cooperatives association with joint investments and funds and so forth. There was a time when they said Havelobst should be one single large enterprise, but after that, fortunately, they reoriented themselves to a juridical independence of the enterprises. That must not be curtailed! It makes work interesting yet also problematic. And then came technical things which I did not think were right, such as irrigation at any cost, each installation with complete stationary automatic irrigation. I sought to ward that off and said: not one fruit tree has yet wilted, one dry year is not a bad year for a fruit farmer. Others twisted that into my being against irrigation in fruit growing. One thing came to another. When I saw reason would not prevail, I became a bit stubborn too. My way of thinking may still come from private farming and the time in the cooperative. To me, development processes have to be intelligible so people can understand them.

Moreover, economically there has to be a turn-around. There have been times, indeed, when an economist was decried for talking economics. That has changed. But in some things . . . once the horse has bolted.

Intelligible to me also means in accordance with available funds. We did not plant our fruit acreages in the cooperative on credit, and now the HOG . . . I have nothing against credits but they are not gifts, they are only an advance that has to be paid back in dollars and cents and with interest. To some, nothing could be grand enough. Those who come after us will still have to chew on it. Irrigation installations, after all, are sunk into the ground for 50 years, they must be amortized. But what happened this year? Certain varieties, it has been proven, sour from too much water.

Well, disagreements piled up, and I was delegated to the party school in L. for 5 months. When I got back, they read me the riot act, and I was no longer the construction manager.

Then I formed a staff for fruit refrigeration. Two years later I got the job to set up a cooperative facility for apple storage.

The way I look at it now, I am glad about it. While construction chief, my work was intangible; I felt my feet were sticking to the ground. Now I have a job I can handle that gives me enough to do. In that sense I am happy.

This is not an insignificant production stage, after all. If we can reduce our storage losses by one percent, it gives us 360 more tons of apples for public supplies. And I have quite a terrific collective. With such a one you can do anything.

We started storage depots in the cooperative way back in 1973. One person, rather impulsive and full of energy, a technical school graduate, concerned himself here with apple storage for his practical year. After taking correspondence courses he even wrote a thesis about it. We gave him half a year off to travel in all socialist countries, study the literature and finally present us with the type of storage facility we were to build. The outcome? Well, look over there! That combines everything what he found to be good in Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria and Moldavia. After much resistance, we managed to keep using this type of storage facility, "Fahrland," as a HOG project. Unfortunately it has not been approved for the GDR at large. The storage institute in Gross Luesewitz keeps building its own. That is a matter of prestige. But we are satisfied that we can undercut all economic parameters essentially by our storage facilities, such as production costs and so forth. This young colleague of ours now is recognized as an expert all over the GDR. We had driven into him to think generously. Not financially, where one has to watch every penny, yet to keep an open mind to size. Unfortunately, here at HOG the proportions are not right. Eventually we shall produce 120,000 tons of apples per annum but only have a 50,000-ton storage capacity. No one knows what will happen with the rest and its storage. Thank god, we are a fairly self-reliant and cohesive enterprise. With some diplomacy, we'll manage.

In the past they would always generalize my experiences and put them up as models. Now I can work in quiet in our collective, without having to impress the outside. That is a great advantage. That was the same way once before, when our cooperative got going, till someone discovered: Ah, but they are fine! That is the worst that can happen to you. In the last years I only still visited the cooperative now and then as a guest; I had other things to do; as construction chief at the time it was still worse.

I did not get around to my hobby, hunting, any more either. When there was time left for it, I did not feel in the mood. That is different now.

My personal desires? I would like to have my own hunting weapon. Maybe it is possible, I only have not seriously tried yet. And when I see how one person or another in my age-group who has something wrong with his health prowls around unobserved or is being pitied, I am wishing long lasting health and energy for myself.

I have used every chance to exchange experiences with specialists from other socialist countries. It is no vacation for me unless I also profit professionally, in Bulgaria or in Yerevan. Actually, that may be off the track because the conditions there cannot be carried over to our place. Still it is interesting and there are contact points going to a state farm with a nice peach plantation and talking with the brigade chiefs about documentations, varieties, pests and so forth. Or about storage problems, without my saying we are the best, as which we are often presented: largest storage facility in Europe and what have you. Still, we too are only human.

I still have another hobby: I have planted a vineyard and try to grow wine grapes. It seems to work. I got the grapes from friends in Bratislava. In 2 to 3 years I hope to have fairly decent wine. I am not doing that for economic reasons. You don't make much from that. Viniculture has been of interest to me for at least 15 years already. Every year I go to Bulgaria, Hungary and the CSSR for the gathering of the grapes and take notes.

There is one problem in our apple storage cooperative in that we have various forms for reimbursement. There are members of cooperatives here with various delegation accords and new workers and employees. But there has to be one basic principle: equal wages for equal labor. And that is tough in our place. The workers, after all, have to pay taxes and the members of the cooperative don't have to. We seek to equalize that through the end-of-year bonus. That takes a lot out of you. As a member of the cooperative, which I still am, I have to tell the others: friends, don't make too much of it! For the employees the equalization does not work yet. A cooperative facility is a transitional form; we would like it best to become a regular cooperative.

I keep observing that our cooperative members work better and pull the others along. They know what they are working for and are sharing cooperative profits. I don't want to generalize that and allow myself no judgment on the workers at the VEB Elektrokohle, Berlin, for instance; all the state-owned enterprises I know are in agriculture.

Economic rules more and more are eliminating the ties to the cooperative, unfortunately. I don't know whether one can revamp a whole economy like that. One reason for the supply difficulties we have, I think, is that the existing initiatives no longer take hold because there is too much control, instruction and planning from people who are far too much removed from the base. They say the worker shares in the management. But what is his influence on the output he produces? If it were only the consumer goods production! That he can't have much of an influence on rotary cranes I can understand. But on output proper as to needs?

In the economy of a socialist society, I cannot settle for saying: Sure, we have made toothbrushes, but we closed the enterprise down, and because the other one is not yet ready, we have to import toothbrushes from capitalist countries. And in the end I put up a figleaf and say: After all, they are even cheaper than if we produced them ourselves.

On the other hand, we promote initiatives that cause opposite effects. Those cursed flat rate projects, working after hours, making money at any cost! Some people are compounding the whole economy. You go to a project planning enterprise and ask for a production balance, and they say: we can't. And then you ask: can't you on overtime? And all of a sudden they can. All for their own pocket. And look at individual production here. In the plenum it is being announced: **Thirty** percent of all the fruit and vegetable is to come out of private production, that's why we are supporting it. And then the people run away from their jobs because they have to do things at home. The materials for their greenhouse they are taking from the enterprise. Tomatoes en masse at collection points don't come from the small plots, you know. Individual production is assuming forms . . . how are we going to get that under control again? We can't possibly make another socialist transformation.

I disagree with some of the things we do for being illogical. Also with the Intershops and delicatessen shops. Sure, we need the money. But for god's sake, we should manage that differently. I have stored the delicatessen program here and can see what we are importing. That someone who has the money can buy asparagus, 17 marks a jar, I don't know how many carloads we have sitting here . . . do we really need that? Must we buy asparagus from Algeria via Hamburg? It just does not sit right with me. And that damned trend sticks in the brains. I can see it in our enterprise. The people constantly try to get their hands on things. I am fighting against it implacably: If the manager of Delikat sells you French champagne, 3 marks a bottle, it is not intended only for the 40 people here. What about those who are not sitting close to the source? Then I called the one from Delikat and told him: Listen, old friend, you are not making policy here. We have trouble welding the collectives together, and you are disrupting us. Do it once more and you get fired with all your shit. Yet no one gives a second thought to it. In our enterprise we show our teeth, even if we rile some people who are saying: others are doing it too; why shouldn't we?

Such discussions ought to get into the newspaper. We should altogether take a more critical view of our social development. Unless I mistake Marx, criticism and self-criticism is the revolutionary element in our social development.

But when they are holding a forum, for instance, a party activists meeting, a youth forum or what have you, the questions that are brought up there are formulated 4 weeks in advance. Then they are sorted out and revised; and what is eventually left of them? Of what the people want to ask the minister?

Or when we are holding a reporting election meeting in our basic organization, and the plain-spoken comrades are not mincing matters, a kreis management official is sitting in, writing. At the next opportunity they are telling us: "What is going on at your place is terrible indeed!" We could be involved in preparing our meetings by authorized and revised contributions to the debate. But without criticism and self-criticism we won't make headway.

I have now been married for 30 years and have 4 children. Marriage--okay, but must one marry right away? It was the normal thing to do when we got married, but today I think living together would be better if one was not married. My wife chairs the Neufahrland GPG (horticultural producer cooperative). She was the chief bookkeeper there from the start and assumed my function when I became the construction chief. Lucky she does not have thousands of other functions on her neck and does things quite well. She does not like my meddling with her. And she is right, too. I must be diplomatic. When something happens I don't like I take her along going hunting, pass by the spot, by accident as it seems, and ask casually: What is going on?

We had sometimes critical moments when I was the chairman and she the chief bookkeeper. It was all about the money of the cooperative. The chairman wants it, the chief bookkeeper is sitting on it. Then we would quarrel, which would not stop in the bedroom either. Since our functions are separated now, our relationship is improved.

We are very different in character. My wife is full of temperament and impulsive, not at all diplomatic, and I am a quiet type. I have always disarmed my opponents with unshakable calmness. Not that I always was that way, but that is something one can learn. I have always found that one can accomplish more through being calm and businesslike than by throwing fits. When necessary I can also hit the table with my fist, and then everybody is terrified because it is not typical of me at all.

Our three boys have learned horticulture. The oldest is no longer in the GDR. Our daughter is attending fishery school.

For the boys, no other vocation was under consideration. Only they did not care to become chairman, having their father's poor example to look at: no after hours, telephone day and night, no time for the family. Strangely enough they are more of a family type, keep away from big functions. Usually it went like this: Your name? . . . Oh, you are the son of such and such? Then you could also . . . . That is the way it would start. They had to put up with me. They are in the party, are critical, and rile everyone that way. That keeps running like a red thread through us. Our youngest in first grade once had to fight back. His teacher ordered him to write down 20 times: "When someone hits me, I do not hit back!" He did so neatly and then added under it: "My true opinion is: when someone hits me, I hit back." Much fuss was made about that. The boy is still that way. So is my daughter, objective in her judgment and very self-reliant.

She had learned freshwater fishing and right in her first enterprise meeting made herself disagreeable. She announced: at the station where I work the men are drinking a lot and are swiping things. Then she published an article in the wall-newspaper that did not sit right with the director of the freshwater fishing section. So she was not delegated to the technical school. And then she simply wrote to that school herself, made application and was admitted without being delegated. Needing a delegation then after all, she joined a different fishery cooperative and got delegated from there. I did nothing for it. But when she has problems she wants to talk about them a lot, problems with her friend or with her girlfriends, or about political matters.

Reading? In newspapers, only what is most necessary. Yet I like to read a good book, Feuchtwanger for example, because of his manner of social criticism, or contemporary literature like "Ole Bienkopp," if it is honest. I have good friends, for instance Dr. K. in Marquardt. We have known each other for a long time, agree on technical matters and are much alike. We are not always sitting on each other, but when we meet something good comes of it for us both. I am also friendly with a painter. We can have interesting conversations and have spent whole nights talking. Now, when I am jobwise committed to a more limited field, I have again time for them as well as for new friends with whom I have fine conversations. We need not agree in all our views, but I must know I can rely on them. I also have many real friends in Hungary, Poland and the CSSR.

In my associates I appreciate their sense of responsibility for their tasks and that they are seeing them in the context of the task of the entire enterprise. I cannot stand it when someone thinks he has done his job and the things right and left of him don't concern him. And I insist on an attitude toward the brigades that is like my own: to be intolerant in matters of health and fire protection, where I let absolutely nothing dangle, but to be quiet and calm otherwise, and mainly be tolerant. People have been assigned to work with us who already had been through a lot before and had some criminal record. I have much patience with them and don't want them to be dealt with in terms of enterprise regulations, such as: who has been loafing for so and so many hours gets a serious reprimand, and the next time he is fired. I often take a stand against the BGL (plant labor union executive board) which, I think, respects the letter of the law too much, without differentiating. Of whom I may demand it, I demand, for instance, absolute punctuality. But what about alcoholics? We have circa a dozen of them, men and women, many are young. Then there is still loafing on the job, asocial conduct . . . I can manage quite well with them, though.

For adolescents I also have different yardsticks. My colleagues often don't understand that. But I have not forgotten my own children at that age. Nor was I myself a model boy.

One thing that makes me allergic is abuse of power. I condemn that in society and, above all, in our own enterprise. I keep saying: put someone into a uniform and hang a pistol on his belly, and at once he will exercise power having a hard time to differentiate between what he may and may not do. And he will grab certain privileges for himself. That I am opposing. For consolidating as sundry a collective as ours that is a significant management principle.



You keep running into people who are abusing their power. But I keep thinking: one day they will have to pay for it. But sometimes that takes very long. I am not afraid of getting old. Every age has its own charms. When someone says he would like to be seventeen again, I say I wouldn't. I am comfortable with my own age and with my job. If I can no longer jog 3 kilometers through the woods in the morning, I have to accept that, but sometimes on weekends I take off at 0700 hours and get back only at 1500 or 1600 hours. I am afraid, however, of becoming too old. I imagine it's horrible no longer being able to do everything by oneself and maybe no longer knowing what I am doing. That long I do not like to live.

Sometimes I think I should have chosen a different occupation when I was young. But then again, looking at my life, actually it is what I did imagine: pioneering achievements in fruit growing and making a name for oneself there. Not so bad at all, after all.

Now we have vast acreages here, for industrial apple production. That profits the economy a lot. But one should also face the problems there: When the worker sees no end on the enormous plantations and, cutting the trees, knows that there are 20 to 30 percent of the trees he won't finish anyway . . . Thought is given on how to tie him more definitely to a certain task area so that he can see the outcome of his labor, but that is not taken seriously enough. And then in the cutting itself: the people are hanging on their pruners, should have to cut each tree six or seven times, for an eighth cut they would not be able to keep up. But that is an individual matter; for each tree and each apple variety one should have enough time to look at the tree, how to prune it. Once it was that way; the successes were not easily dismissed.

In Moldavia everything is organized in such a way that everyone can see the outcome of his labor. There are working teams. Each has 62 or 64 hectares. That is palatable, and the people are responsible for all labor processes including the harvest. And what is happening in some enterprises here? People are driven back and forth through the fields, and the trees they cut they often never see again. I hope something will change in this soon.

And in Moldavia they planted 6,000 hectares as an optimum size; we had to have 10,000. Because we were larger, perhaps?

I like to travel. When you get to Yerevan . . . what's going on there smacks of the orient. At times I had to laugh aloud. There are, for instance, 17-story apartment houses, and each does with his apartment what he wants. We stayed in the house opposite, and I thought: What is going on? Each floor had different window frames, small ones, large ones, and higher up even balconies. And everyone had enclosed his balcony by any means he had got. And the point was that one who had enclosed it was sorry about it and so put tubing through the concrete plate from below, put something on it and built a wire fence around it. So he himself added a balcony to a balcony, in the midst of Yerevan, on the 15th floor perhaps. Things we regard as very important, say, in a highrise, they don't. All that goes. Even so, when I get home from a trip I always have the feeling that I like it best here, where I am at home.

That I may not travel to wherever I want to bothers me, though. Four years ago I met a woman from Kenia. When she had health trouble and found no suitable physician, I helped her get into the Berlin-Buch hospital. In any event, her father came from Kenia and sought our friendship. He also is a hunter and invited me officially, with an embassy stamp, to come to Nairobi. I have tried what I could to go there but accomplished nothing. That can depress a person. They ought to be able to figure out blindfold that I, at 59 years of age and with my assured livelihood here, would not imagine . . . Is the distrust greater than the trust?

Inge (58), GPG (horticultural producer cooperative) chairperson, the wife of Hans

We lived in Babelsberg during the war. Air raids every day. I did not care whether I would die or not. It would think that for me, a young girl, it would not be as bad as for someone who had a family to take care of. Like my uncle. He was a painter and had two children, a third on the way. He often talked with me as if I were an adult, about sex and everything. He was killed, and I would think why should I live and not he?

After the air raid on Potsdam, I went with my father to visit my grandparents. At the railroad station an ammunitions train, the grenades exploded, everything was in flames, bomb craters everywhere, and the factory to the right, the flames spread our way, I was afraid, my hair and things caught fire, I stopped walking, my father kept going. Then came a young couple, the man had thrown his coat over my head, that way we passed along the street.

The next day I was due at executive headquarters, where I was on the staff. When I got up there, I saw my colleagues, down to half a meter and burnt to a crisp. That unhinged me.

I am talking about this so one can understand the feeling one had after the war: No matter whether I have much or little, whether a lamp or just a bulb on a wire, the main thing is I live and try to make the best of it. That sentiment flattened out later. One becomes fairly wasteful with oneself and one's time, for instance when one quarrels with one's husband over some trivialities or so. Afterwards I often say to myself: what did you get excited for?

I am glad of course my children did not have to go through any of that, but I cannot pass my experiences on to them. When I talk about it, it's like fairy tales to them.

Now there is prosperity. It is nice to have a refrigerator, a washing machine, all I have to do is throw things into it . . . but much of it one would not even need. There are things in life not to be gaged against prosperity. I cannot understand that so many here concern themselves so much with their individual livelihood that for personal things no time is left. What is life all about? That is something that never occurred to them yet. For a while I was a lay judge at the kreis court. After the war there was a new judge in Neufahrland, as there were also new teachers, who recruited me as a lay judge.

I was in family law. When you sit in such a divorce case, you notice at once when someone is lying. How they are pretending, I used to think, but once they must have been in love with each other. No, I would think, there is no honesty left, not even within the family. And when my husband used to say he wants to go to one place or another, I did not believe a word he said. And he would say: what has happened to you?

We had many cases there of people who work and work and forget themselves over it. Then they have their car, their house, their account . . . and suddenly they are facing a void.

I had married in 1947. My husband was not my first love, which had gone awry, but I had heard much about my husband from my first lover because they both were in the same company. So I had high respect for him without even knowing him. I was supposed to bring him regards, and what I encountered was a very timid young man, very decent.

He had a position here as a new farmer, and he then picked me up with his tractor, lock, stock and barrel. Having lived in a town, that was quite a change for me. Milking cows I had learned as a child from relatives. My husband could not do that. But I could not feed the pigs. For my husband they would eat, not for me. I used to cry a lot first. We had little money. I always was afraid when they came to collect for energy or gas, or when coal was delivered. Also did not know how to diaper my first child. We just did not have anything. So I used the old bed linens from an aunt. That's the way we worked until 1958. Was fun actually, but I was so much tied down. When you go into the cow shed in the morning and then into the field--I used to run the tractor, my husband ran behind and handled the equipment, even the children were out there with us--I was too exhausted in the evening to read a book or listen to the radio. That is why I also was for the cooperative. There the work is distributed among all and more time is left for one's personal freedom. I did the bookkeeping in the cooperative as best I could. Then I got my engineering degree. When I was finished with that, I became the chairperson. What I like to do? Reading, TV and conversing with nice people. We have a boat at Fahrlaender See. There we always go in May. Good friends live there where the boat is. She does ceramics, he paints. These are interesting people. We talk, for instance, about how one should actually live and what one could do, even on the means we have. That one does not have to live in such blocks, become lonely like the old people or aggressive like the young, also because of loneliness. That means more to me than going dancing with music and drinks.

My position gives me but rare opportunities for such talks in our cooperative. When you first discover that, it hurts. But I know how to diminish the distance others take from me.

I am a person who prefers the informal address ten times to the formal one once. I always am eager to know what is happening at their homes and how the vacation was. Yesterday I was very pleased. There is this colleague, who had gone along to Moscow; he is very taciturn. On my way home I notice he is approaching me and he says: I would like to thank you once again for the trip. So I asked him a few questions: How was it? Noticing that man was pleased, it pleased me

too. We also have much contact with the seniors in the cooperative and attend their birthdays, the 70th, the 75th and every fifth. Everyone gets a birthday card. That sometimes is a burden. This year, almost all of them had their birthdays on Saturdays or Sundays. At home I have things to do too, after all. But these are members I have known as long as the cooperative has been in existence, and one still talks today about matters that took place 20 years ago, even very personal matters, children and what have you. I often even get kissed and have the feeling they like me. Perhaps as a woman you can do better than a man in talking about all such human affairs.

I am the only chairwoman in this region. Men do not like to assign responsibilities to women. They simply are more assured of themselves than of us. In our enterprise, the party secretary, the bookkeeper and I are women. Then they talk about a "womenfolk regime."

Young women often drop out because they give birth to children who frequently are sick then. You can really count on women not until they are beyond 35. Up to then the family is more important than the job. That was my situation too.

My husband has always been a braggart. He would love me most when I had success, on the job or elsewhere, when I was a focal point. Only he does not want to do anything for it. He does support me when I have problems, discusses everything with me and gives me some quiet and assurance, but he does not help me in the household. When he was the chairman here himself, he would often make some overtures toward promoting women, and sometimes he even cooked or did the dishes at home, but no longer. He cannot drink coffee or tea, always needs his soft drink or beer, and if I ever forget getting it, he can spoil a whole evening. Doesn't he have a shop in the plant, can't he bring along a case of soft drinks or beer, heavy as it is? Every person has plusses and minuses, women too, so one needs tolerance for one another. But usually that comes afterwards, first one wants to drive one's head through the wall. I am now old enough to say: Why should you get so excited about such trifles, just go and do it and that's it. I have 4 children, the youngest is still at home and is studying at the freshwater fishing school.

My own childhood was no paradise. Pleasant memories I have of my paternal grandparents, and I moved in with them when they no longer understood me at home. My father was very strict. We were three siblings and had one foster brother. I was the oldest and had to do a lot. My foster brother was greatly spoilt, got chocolates from mother when I didn't. But, being a child, I had, for spite, done away completely with the habit of eating chocolates.

The early childhood years are very important. In my own children I took them especially seriously. I have no influence in that on my grandchildren, unfortunately. A friendly couple has a little boy. He is treated with love and is outgoing and happy. But as to my grandchildren: the little one was impudent, so my son beat him. That is not good for children. He has become shy and needs much time to gain trust in anyone. Once he spent a night at my place, and he dirtied himself. There he stood in the morning, terrified. So I said: no big deal. I undressed him and redressed him, and then he slowly quieted down. He must have had bad experiences in the nursery with dirtying his pants. And when I did hear a few things about that, I confronted the teacher in charge:

It happens to my grandchild and happens to other children as well. I have consulted a doctor and he told me one should let children dirty their pants as long as they want to, it was good for their personality development. But these are views not generally held here. From a certain point in time on one has to be absolutely clean. My acquaintances had put an extra diaper on their little one when he was 3 so he could quietly let go as he pleased. And he has become a real small personality. When my children turned 15 or 16 they would reproach me for not being like other mothers who would make breakfast for them and have more time for them. But we were both heavily taxed at work, and our family life was confined to Sundays when we used to serve a copious breakfast lasting 3 or 4 hours, and the children could bring up their own problems, first smaller ones and later bigger ones.

Today they say: mom, you did the right thing, you did not interfere. In case of others, contacts with the parents have been severed, but we still have a relationship of trust. One must not dictate to children, one must discuss everything with them, the pro and con, and then let them make their own decisions, isn't that so? And still they differ from one another, not two of them are alike.

My motto always has been: Let the people say about me what they want, I must live in accordance with my own conscience and be clean in my own eyes. That I told my sons and am now telling my daughter: You must have your own thoughts about all the why and wherefore and not timidly do all that is asked of you. If she followed only those tracks, the whole direction would not please me. But this is a motto that often gets you into trouble in life. A few years ago they ordered us how to organize the cooperative. I was against a strong enterprise specialization. My husband and I publicly predicted what would follow from it. We tried to prevent it and ran with our heads against the wall.

Today we find we were right, and that hurts. Some enterprises here simply are too large and uncontrollable. One does not know of the others and only notices some do not work so well and then thinks "so I can also do poorer work." Many people have lost all ties, all common interest, all responsibility. I find that to be so in the plant next door. For instance in crop protection. They drive into the fruit plantation from the front and from the back but do not spray in the middle. Main thing is I have done my hours and get my money. In our cooperative everyone realizes: only what we have produced can be distributed. In the early years the interest in advancing together was particularly strong. We have 200 cooperative farmers, more than 100 we had to delegate to the inter-cooperative Satzkorn-Fahrland enterprise in fruit growing with all the basic assets and working capital that takes.

Our enterprise is easily grasped. I was sad when we suddenly lost the fruit cultivation. After all, this cooperative had been known domestically and abroad as a fruit growing enterprise. All we have left is produce, are doing a bit of agriculture and have cows; without manure nothing grows, you know. We would need circa 100 hectares more. Since we had to surrender many acreages, we no longer have a proper crop rotation, and the soil suffers from that. Our enterprise was supposed to be disbanded at the time, but we prevailed. Produce, after all, is needed too. In spite of that they are looking at us like outsiders in the cooperative association, we are not invited for anything and only have to

pay like all others. I believe if such an association is to function well, the enterprises must be more independent. But they hardly have any influence left on their acreages. By no means must one derogate an enterprise out of aversion to the manager. I am not working for myself, after all. The population wants to eat, and we, for example, are growing all the carrots for the kreis and ensure the production of baby food. In the early years our enterprise did not even get machines; that has somewhat improved. I also do not understand why the workers should all live in Werder and commute every day. If I had to travel one or two hours every morning and every evening as well . . . In Damsdorf things still work out best, where the people live near their jobs.

And apples as a monoculture! Women can't stand the cutting months after months. They get tendonitis and have to go on sickleave. And they don't even look at what they cut off anymore. Just take down a branch here and there.

Because we grow different produce varieties, labor is not all that monotonous in our place. First we plant, then comes the strawberry harvest and so forth. In summer, when we have harvest helpers, our members become team leaders. To some that is very important; one can see how they blossom then. But not everybody takes more pleasure in his labors when he is given responsibility. That is why that is not the solution for the problem. That would come from a high degree of mechanization. In pure agriculture a great advance has been made there. The potato harvesting is completely mechanized now, for instance. Horticulture is always a bit behind, the machines being very expensive and it being more specific rather than mass production. Yet we are trying to improve a lot on our own, and our innovators are fooling around with all sorts of problems.

When I see how tough it is for women to work in the cold and in the heat, it's easier for the men on the tractors. So I am looking for cultures where the labor can be mechanized, to alleviate matters for women. Carrots are a case in point. Here we have full harvesting machinery. The women are sitting on the line and clean the carrots, at least being shielded from the weather. Brussels sprouts is another thing. For harvesting that we have converted an old harvester-thresher, and the women are sitting in the hall by the stripper and need not pick any longer in snow and ice. For cauliflower and cucumbers the problem has partly been solved, but not yet for the leeks and celery. There, work is still very heavy. If I imagine I would have to do all that still, would I have the patience and endurance for it? The younger ones do not want to do it anymore, and I don't know what will happen when the older ones are gone.

I believe in agriculture young people predominate who are different from what one says young people generally are now. Those who are "positive" are looking for other trades.

We are getting young people who have for various reasons failed in other places. Some, already rated as asocial, are getting themselves under control here again, but there are others about whom one can do nothing anymore. A young tractor driver is living in an attic in Grossglinicke, his parents are dead, and we wanted to bring him in here, but he is afraid to leave the circle of his friends. He has become a drunkard and rowdy. Is that only because of the work?

Everyone, for all that, has a certain idea of the work he wants to do; he wants work he can enjoy. And much here in fruit and produce growing is not the way one would like one's work to be. I have no apprentices here but can imagine it is very tough for them. Which includes integrating oneself in a collective after one's apprenticeship. Our senior colleagues apply yardsticks to all novices that are far too high. They are prejudiced;; first everything they do is being criticized. That makes me often angry. You cannot expect the same thing of young people as of older ones. When I was young I also sometimes was more frivolous and what have you; I certainly did not devote every hour to my work. Being young one wants to go dancing sometimes and do one thing or another, and one does not always come to work after a good night's sleep. The seniors then make it difficult for them, be it on the fields or in management. When someone new gets started here, I have to shield him so much that some people think he is a personal friend of mine and then become still nastier. But for that I have picked my husband as a model; he also works a lot with young personnel.

My second oldest son is a brigade chief here. There is tension between him and other members, simply because we are mother and son. For all that, I support him less than others. I hope he understands that. If he has problems, he can straighten them out with his father.

My husband preceded me as the chairman here for 15 years.

I was the chief bookkeeper and looked at everything more narrowly, somehow rigidly; that may be an occupational disease. I was my husband's biggest adversary, and that also affected our personal sphere. I always thought that if I were in charge, I would do everything differently and one had to be stricter and had to do it this way only. When the time came I was suddenly terrified because I am an economist, not a practitioner, and I cannot tell a tractor driver, for instance, how he should do the plowing and such. I thought things would go awry and asked all in the cooperative to help me. I do not have as quick a perception as my husband, and living with him I have lost much of my persistence capability. He has often taken away from me what I had laboriously prepared. For instance a discussion paper for the year-end meeting. Having completed it, I showed it to my husband: Look, didn't I do it nicely? And when I got up to talk then, he had already said three fourths of it. And then I was angry. That is why he is right in saying he no longer meddles with the cooperative. So I had to learn everything by myself. And everyone has a different management style, too. I got rid of my rigidity suddenly and assumed different aspects for my work, and all of a sudden I appreciated my husband. You can't make short work of something and simply enforce what you have planned. Every person, as one soon finds out, must be treated differently; one pulls along fast, someone else, more slowly; and when you want to force things, you cause resistance. I have become a very different person, more generous in dealing with others. Sometimes colleagues seek to exploit that and cut me to pieces. In spite of that I seek to confer on everything first with the others instead of issuing dictatorial orders. I no longer like to be harsh in what I say to anyone. Many men in the enterprise are blaming me for being too soft. I always take that to heart and think about it a long time yet always arrive at the conviction that I am not too soft.

Say someone has made a mistake and broken something. The board has decided he has to pay for the damage. But when you look into the matter you find out there were still other factors involved and you can finally no longer tag that man. Some think I should make myself more of a nuisance to many of them, but the older I get, the less I can do so.

Maybe I trust people too much, but my husband does too. Still he can be tougher than I. He does not think twice about bawling somebody out in certain situations. I did that once in my life and felt ashamed about it afterwards for a long time. I think it is a sign of weakness. I bawled out a comrade when the conversion was going on in this region. He said what he imagined communism to be was correct: no more cooperative farmers right away, only one single social class, and then we would have communism. I was of a different opinion, he did not let me talk, always interrupted me, and then I shouted at him. I was annoyed about it afterwards. I should have kept my cool and let him talk. When someone is prejudiced, there is no sense in quarreling. Among my associates I never shout.

Right now I am somehow very tired. All the acreages we have left in the enterprise are not suited to fruit growing. But most of them are not suited for other cultures either. We are adjacent to the troop training area and have to deal with maneuver damage, have lowland acreages, and when the weather is bad the cultures get flooded, and then we have the smallest acreages, 0.25 hectare and still smaller, which large machines cannot work on. Though we have proven that we can live with that and that it even is lucrative in comparison with some purely fruit growing enterprises, it is a stress for me. They dictate to us we should grow cultures for which we have no suitable land. Where are we to plant, for example, the 40 hectares of strawberries laid as a requirement on us? On marshy soil? That is no laughing matter. In such things they are acting at public meetings as if my management methods were at fault.

My husband seeks to encourage me I should stick to it. In my spot he would be likely to fight state management about it. He has a thicker skin than I. The other enterprise managers have one too, but it goes on my nerves. I should take a vacation, though. For all that, I never weep, certainly not in the enterprise. As a manager one must show composure to the outside. But pretending to be sure, no matter what mood one is in, is something men are better at also than we are.

That I shall soon retire and have no successor as yet depresses me also. Our good young cadres have been delegated to the interplant facility. I asked two of them who I think could do it, but they are committed to state institutions. My successor is likely to have the same difficulties as I and should have to be a strong man who knows all about such problems. The economic situation, after all, has become much more intricate altogether, there is more pressure on everything, which can be felt in thousand ways. That makes it more and more complicated for a manager. My successor should have to be clever. But he also has to be someone who thinks of the people. Not one who is compliant and then cannot cope with things in the enterprise. He should also have some imagination. Without that, I say, no one should be a manager. Only people with imagination can make headway in society. Those without their own ideas and concepts for how it could be do not get us ahead. Whether I shall miss something when I am retired one can only tell when the time has come. Once I was really terrified.



I had long been ill, and the doctor had told me I should stop working. Wouldn't that be a nice life, I thought first, but then it came to me like a little shock. Yet, one lives only once, and some things I would still like to do purely for myself before I kick the bucket. To travel. And then: I had wanted to be a graphic artist, had gone to school for it in Berlin, but because of the air raids I quit going; it was too dangerous. I never wanted to get married, wanted to remain free and work. First I still painted a lot, later I did not get around to it anymore. Would I manage to pick that up again?

Now I have done some ceramics, some nice pieces among them, I always enjoy looking at them. But I don't have a kiln for them. Maybe I can manage to have my husband put one up for me. It's tough with the material. And I want to paint the things a bit, glaze them and such. That's why I am actually not afraid of retirement. And my husband has started a vineyard. When one pours wine one always also has visitors one can talk to. And then a bit of horticulture and some other things. I have no illusions about old age. Though the children are telling me once I am old and sick they won't remove me, I can imagine that would interfere so much with their private lives that they may change their minds. And I would never dare impose myself on them.

My husband also has much pride in such matters, would never consult with a doctor if anything was wrong with him. He has something wrong with his ligaments and has trouble getting his socks on in the morning. When I want to help him he objects, I mustn't. Where does he get his strength from? Just like my daughter.

So the artistic trade and the dreams of my youth came to nought, and it does not really pain me. Have still accomplished something and can square it with my conscience. And even in my last 2 years in the cooperative I still want to do a few things. Will they appreciate it? As things are, one must not expect thanks for anything. That is something one has to settle with oneself. I have given birth to four children and made self-reliant people out of them; that's something too. After three of them I was tempted to give up; now I am glad I have a daughter too. Although, maybe these were too many children. They get preference as far as a mother is concerned. Not much remained then for the husband. And our daughter was very complicated. She only cared for her mother, even as a baby. Whenever my husband bent down over her, she used to cry. Later on, when we stood together sometimes, kissing, she would squeeze herself between us, watching me. That's the way it was until she was 13 or 14. Now she has also turned to her father. But that has lost some of the tenderness over the years that a wife desires. I can rely on my husband absolutely. He is a good comrade but somewhat harsh. What I am missing simply is a little tenderness. Sometimes I want to be nothing but just a woman. I think I am too much of a man.

What I can personally not cope with at all is that our oldest no longer lives in the GDR. My father-in-law had died, my mother-in-law was lonely. I thought it might be easier to have one child less, and so I gave her my son who had just finished his apprenticeship. I no longer had much influence on him, and mother-in-law still was born in the time of the Kaiser. That, to me, is one of the reasons why he left. He had been with the border troops, had once taken a radio along on guard duty, and had been given harsh punishment for it. He was quartered in a way that he could look through the officer's window and found out

the officer was watching only Western TV. Talks differently from what he truly thinks, then. We still visited him once and talked with him and thought things had been straightened out, but all of a sudden they brought us his things. To me that was as it had been during the war, as if he had been killed, and they were bringing me his urn. That we can never see each other again! That is a wound that never heals. For one remains a mother, no matter what the child has done. He still is constantly seeking contact with us and calls; perhaps something has held on to him from his early years?

Now I am alone a great deal. My husband has become an impassioned hunter. In the past he did not have much time for it. First I was sad about it. Now I have gotten used to it and truly need it. If on occasion he leaves later than normally, I become restless: Aren't you going hunting today?

I need more and more to be truly alone and relax. When my daughter brings her friend along on weekends, I am getting nervous.

To have friends I can talk to is very important to me. If you chew on it all by yourself, you never get rid of all your conflicts for sure. We care too little about the souls of men. We care for all sorts of things, even for our physical well-being. But what the pastor used to do in the past, that is what we are missing today. For souls, no one has any longer any competency. When you can let your hair down in the family, you are very lucky. But what about someone who has none, or not the right partner for it?

First I thought I was pretty much alone with the things I could not cope with. But through the heavy experience my husband and I have had we got to know people who in one way or other were in the same situation, from all walks of life. And that has given me some courage. One can talk with them about it. And then one can also differentiate between one's true and false friends. That's why I think now that experience has been good. My husband, when he no longer was construction chief all of a sudden, first was completely derailed. He had always been very positive, as one says, and often enforced things of which he was personally not all that convinced. I used to think one must remain true to oneself to the very end. And suddenly I had a crushed husband, who became gradually more human, though. That is the one I rather have.

Models? As a chairman that is my husband, even if I oftendidn't agree with him.

My political model is Franz R. He is an old communist, the first kreis management secretary here. He had a golden heart, could listen, had courage to take responsibility and wished no person ill. Now, unfortunately, he is retired; we see each other seldom. I thought once most people are like him, life will become ideal. And that is also why I joined the party.

But there should be more such comrades who can truly explain things to you and who, once they admit something was wrong, try to change it. In that I would see a great chance for us. The best time in my life was that of the early years in the cooperative. Young as we were, we approached it with so much conviction that the seniors were swept along too. This togetherness, our pushing ahead and their experiences, made for fine communication (however different the seniors' political views might sometimes have been, the work they fully supported).

Well anyway, we made headway, we were appreciated, often too much, so that one is ashamed in front of others who worked just as hard but had not caught up yet. We were made to stand out more and more, until the cooperative association came and we frankly put our doubts on the table. That ended our recognition at once. But I also did not want to chair a representational enterprise and, to the outside, deliberately held myself back. I got my things through in the quiet and did not make much of a nuisance of myself anymore. Knowing I would run into an adversary in one place or another, I did not even go there, biding my time, and the cooperative is now stable again, which is also a success, or, should one say, a failure?

5885

CSO: 2300/381

LUTHERAN LEADERS CAUTION AGAINST EMIGRATION

Goerlitz Synod Appeals

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Ap3 84 p 3

[Article datelined Goerlitz 3 Apr 84 (EDP): "Bishop Encourages Remaining in the GDR"]

[Text] Goerlitz Bishop Wollstadt, before the synod of his church, has called for staying in the GDR and appealed to the GDR leadership "to create conditions in our country under which all people can feel comfortable and like to live." Many GDR inhabitants found intolerable, according to his words, "the ideological rigidity in the whole training area, the lack of willingness to entrust and assign to persons of different opinion responsibility for the whole, as well as the constricting of movement opportunities beyond the GDR boundaries."

At the conclusion of the 4-day synod conference, Wollstadt said the church and its congregations should "through preaching and ministerial work" do what they can so "that the members of our congregations and the people living here remain among us." He affirmed that in the synod debate understanding had also been shown for those who for family reasons or special burdens on their lives had applied for emigration to the FRG. Through a unanimous resolution the synod requested from the leadership bodies of the GDR Church Alliance to address the congregations as soon as possible by saying something about all the problems involved in emigration.

The Goerlitz Synod came out for setting up a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe and declared it wanted "to live in its area without means of mass annihilation." It endorsed the announcement by the World Church Council in Vancouver that the "production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their use" were a "crime against humanity." The proposition by the synod's peace commission, which in a draft had suggested the synod should announce it regarded substitute military service without weapons "a clear sign for peace," was not finalized.

Unanimously the synod expressed its consternation that talks with representatives of GDR public education, requested for years, still could not be held to settle difficulties of young Christians and their parents in the official educational institutions. Regarding the acute famine in Africa, the synod requested that the GDR Church Alliance should look for "further possibilities for aid" and

draw into it also the churches in Mozambique, Tanzania and Ethiopia. Along with special donations, aid should also be sent by assigning development assistants and a more generous handling of the shipping of assistance commodities.

### Homeland Concept Stressed

Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG in German Vol 39 No 14, 1 Apr 84 p 1

[Editorial comment by Gerhard Thomas, chief editor: "Homeland"]

[Text] Land Bishop Dr Heinrich Rathke expressed many Christians' heartfelt convictions when he remarked in his synod report two weeks ago: That many people are quietly leaving us in these weeks is intolerable. He called for a conscious clarification: Why do I live here and what moves me? Much like it, Erfurt Prior Heino Falcke, in a letter to the priests and associates in his diocese, declared the question had been raised and would have to be answered: Why do I remain in the GDR?

Indeed, in church circles everywhere, and not only there, emigration problems are under discussion these days. The cases involving family reunification or similar human needs are not the problem. There, the change of residence makes sense. But all the others lead to more questions than answers. Perplexity, sadness and uncertainty inform such talks. "Whatever penetrates to us from western media surely is no answer and help to us," Land Bishop Dr Heinrich Rathke had been lamenting before the synod. Many felt it was so. Still, even within the church they are looking for orientation.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, in 1960, ministers were offered a guideline aid, "Our Remaining in the GDR." It was a part of a copious memorandum, "Hand-out on the Gospel and Christian Life in the GDR," from the Evangelical Church of the Union. On 36 closely printed pages, this document theologically considers and explains why Christians are asked to stay: the work of God makes free for staying. That Evangelical churches counseled staying even in 1960 is worth noting. Against the background of the current situation, that document gains new importance.

Whoever anxiously asks what would move people not to stay where they grew up runs into the question of the homeland. We should not only think of the landscape and the dialect when we think of homeland. "Home sweet home" could easily lead to a pseudo-theological transfiguration of the homeland such as the West German local affiliations [Landsmannschaften]. Heinrich Rathke furnished a helpful definition: the homeland is the place where I may assume and am given responsibility.

In taking a position, the synod underscored this thought from the bishop while expressing concern about matters "making the assumption of such responsibility difficult." Against that background it also finds "causes for losing GDR citizenship."

Heino Falcke finds similar causes for the desire to leave. In view of so much resignation inducing people to apply for expatriation from the GDR, the basic question is: But is there any hope? Heino Falcke's answer is this: "We may

regard also our country as being under the rule of the creator, expitiator and consummator and hence as a changeable magnitude in the open-ended history God has with us. Especially as Christians we ought to consider persistently whether to alight from this history and thus from the attempt to live as a Christian in socialist society. Two generations are next to nothing for an attempt such as He expects of us. The first attempt in German history which is likely to be watched with suspense not only by many in the ecumenical world but probably also by the angels in heaven.

5885

CSO: 2300/384

MEASURES LESSENING RECIDIVISM, IMPROVING REHABILITATION DESCRIBED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 38 No 3, Mar 84 pp 82-85

/Article by Prof Guenther Kraeupl and Dr Lothar Reuter, both of the Department of Political and Legal Science at the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena: "The Effectiveness of Rehabilitation Measures in Criminal Law"/

/Text/ The diminution of recidivism and more successful work with criminals difficult to discipline and rehabilitate depend largely on the processes of rehabilitation following imprisonment.<sup>1</sup> Involved here is both the more efficient use of existing provisions and proven practical experiences as well as the discussion of the conditions for progressive effects. We must consider the total system of rehabilitation--general measures as per the rehabilitation law, the possible assignment to a care facility for the criminally endangered in accordance with the Endangered Decree, with the state control and educational supervision as per Article 249 Paragraph 5 StGB /penal code/, the measures as per Articles 47, 48 StGB and, lastly, the occasionally required punishment in criminal law of a crime against these above listed measures as per Article 238 StGB.

In recent years investigations have confirmed that special penal rehabilitation measures represent a necessary element in the total system of rehabilitation. On the other hand they need to be reviewed with respect to the terms of their operation, their possibilities and limits, so that they may be more successfully employed. A definite advance was recorded as a consequence of the orientations issued by the central organs of the administration of criminal law in 1981. Subsequent studies have supported or advanced these positions. The following results seem to us significant for practical application.

The Legal-Political Function of Rehabilitation Measures in Criminal Law

The special nature of rehabilitation measures in criminal law is reflected in the fact that the person of the criminal is particularly important as well as the necessary relevance to the facts of the crime, because this very person transcends this relevance. The rehabilitation measures are not measures of criminal responsibility but may involve significant restrictions for the person concerned. The relevance to the crime applies insofar as recidivism causes these measures to be applied (Articles 37 Paragraph 1, 48 Paragraph 1 No 1 StGB), or we are dealing with a specific direction of attack (Article 48 Paragraph 2 StGB), or specific conditions are deduced from the crime (for example the location, manner, means and

methods), but especially when there is a connection between culpability with defects in the offender's responsibility in past or potential rehabilitation (Articles 47 Paragraph 1, 48 Paragraph 1 No 2 StGB).

Dominating sentencing practice is the last named criterion, that is the application of rehabilitation measures is primarily related to the criminal's personality. This is by no means to be considered a blameworthy divergence from the necessary relevance to the crime; indeed it is the response to the fact that, within the general framework of some crime prerequisites, a certain group of offenders requires the adoption of measures based beyond relevance to the facts of the case on the "other side" of the person, in other words the person's ability and readiness to return to a norm-appropriate behavior.

In these criminals the subjective conditions for successful rehabilitation are strictly limited. As a rule they feature considerable social disintegration (especially from the family and the work collective), a below average educational standard and narrowed needs (in particular in connection with alcohol abuse), as well as a definitely reduced susceptibility to educational influences. They range from significant instability via apathy to the total rejection of social efforts. In the process of their personality development they first become unstable, subsequently get used to the conflict situations arising from their behavior, and finally reverse all normal values, so that outside disciplinary measures, verbal reproaches, administrative supervision, and so on, have less and less effect. They demonstrate a significant restriction of the ability for critical self-evaluation and for dealing with conflicts. That is why it is almost impossible to achieve behavioral changes by conflict setting and the imposition of outside discipline. Indeed such offenders respond to these measures by evasion, resignation or even demonstrative rejection.

We have evidence that it is necessary to strictly observe the balance unity of social-educational influences, actions on their own responsibility and administrative supervision even in the case of criminals who have considerable integrative and disciplinary difficulties.<sup>2</sup> In fact practical experiences urged such an emphasis by attempting many and varied organization forms of a social-educational nature, especially with regard to behavior at work.

#### Legal Prerequisites and Their Individual Testing

Rehabilitation measures in criminal law are admissible only in accordance with the legal prerequisites provided in Articles 47, 48 StGB.<sup>3</sup> They must be individually tested and ascertained. There is no legal provision for their mandatory use for specific groups of crimes or criminals (such as, generally, criminal asocial behavior as per Article 240 StGB or recidivism). Based on the politico-legal concern, we must in every case first inquire into the social necessity of such measures and elucidate whether they are suitable for achieving the desired objective when applied to the particular criminal.

The question of social necessity arises in particular in the imposition of state supervisory measures vis-a-vis first offenders (Article 48 Paragraph 1 No 2 StGB). In these cases the summarizing appraisal of the crime and the criminal must lead to the conclusion that there may be a real danger of renewed culpability without such measures.



On the other hand, the suitability of such measures must be examined especially in the case of offenders who, while sane, have considerable difficulties (due to their personality development) in meeting certain demands on appropriate behavior in all life situations.

In individual cases the conditions for applying Articles 47, 48 StGB represent major challenges to criminal verdicts. They arise mainly from the fact that value terms are used in both norms: In Article 47 Paragraph 1 StGB "absence of discipline" in rehabilitation; in Article 48 Paragraph 1 No 2 StGB the explicit call for an "appraisal" of the crime and criminal from the aspect of the necessary help with his rehabilitation. These terms must be interpreted in the verdict. Involved in Article 47 Paragraph 1 StGB is a retrospective appraisal, in Article 48 Paragraph 1 No 2 StGB (the main reason for the application of state supervisory measures), a forecasting appraisal. In both cases the appraisals rely exclusively on facts ascertained without the shadow of a doubt in the course of the trial. Mere assumptions or suppositions do not suffice. The same applies to the substantiation of the concrete measures (to be individualized).

To prove that the new crime was largely encouraged by lack of discipline in rehabilitation (Article 47 Paragraph 1 StGB), the court must carefully analyze the objective and subjective conditions of this rehabilitation. This is linked with the subsequent requirement in the main court hearing to bring evidence of rehabilitation (by, for example, reading relevant documents issued by the organs competent for the rehabilitation or by statements by personnel of the department for internal affairs at the local councils and by representatives of the collective).

Lack of discipline in the meaning of Article 47 Paragraph 1 StGB may be assumed, in particular, if the defendant evaded earlier educational efforts and supporting measures and rejected the efforts of the organs competent for rehabilitation. We have learned from experience that such lack of discipline relates in particular to the offender's working life and is reflected in offenses against work discipline.

According to Article 47 Paragraph 2 StGB, it is necessary to arrive at a decision before the convicted person is released from imprisonment, taking into account the criminal's behavior while in prison. It will therefore have to largely rely on the appraisal provided by the penal facility.<sup>5</sup> Here, however, we must take into consideration the fact that inconspicuous behavior in prison may be the reflection of the convict's adaptation to the prison regime and therefore does not justify the total abandonment of educational measures in the meaning of Article 47 Paragraph 2 StGB.

Article 48 StGB settles the conditions for the use of state supervisory measures by offering three variants:

According to the first variant, such measures are admissible if the criminal has prior criminal convictions (Paragraph 1 No 1). It should not be used if the imprisonment imposed for the earlier crime goes back a long time, no internal connection exists between the earlier and the present crime, and the convicted person has demonstrably made an effort to behave lawfully.

According to the second (Paragraph 1 No 2 ) and third (Paragraph 2) variant, state supervisory measures may be applied even to first offenders. However, this should be done only in exceptional cases, if the crime or its intensity reveal the criminal to hold such a hardened negative attitude to behavioral standards relevant to the crime, that supervisory and security measures are required as well as educational influences so as to prevent recidivism. Another decisive factor may be the criminal's behavior during the period of his institutionalization as a criminally endangered person.

Though the application of rehabilitation measures in criminal law is not limited to specific criminals, the circle of offenders is narrowed per se by the legal conditions for application. Though applicable to juveniles also with these restrictions, their social necessity in these cases must be even more responsibly examined. The Suh1 District Court, for example, in its verdict of 15 December 198--BSK 3/81--(OG-INFORMATIONEN 1982, No 6 p 26) persuasively explained that state supervisory measures relating to a young man who was 17 at the time the crime was committed, were to be canceled because their social necessity was justified by neither the crime nor the personality of the young offender.

#### Essential Operating Conditions

Among the essential operating conditions is the unity of social-educational influence, action on the individual's own responsibility and administrative supervision. However hard it is in practice to achieve such a balance in the case of these persons, there is no more effective approach than

- Integration in a work collective<sup>6</sup> that offers the offender an acceptable status, collective activity and recognition of his performance as well as provides direct assistance,
- The strengthening of family or similar positive ties and responsibilities,
- The elevation of the standard of needs and leisure interests (often and in particular also the reduction of alcohol consumption),
- The beginning of personal planning for the future, and
- If necessary, medical treatment.

The criminal must feel himself both involved and challenged by this approach. This is to be achieved less by prohibitions than by positive commandments and backing for the responsible and active organization of his own life, especially by productive work. At the same time the specific social and personal situation of the person concerned must also be taken into account. In the matter of arranging for a job and giving reasons for conditions imposed, it is imperative to continue on from the first burgeoning of positive wishes and attitudes. The individual must experience the intervention of the environment as understanding and help for him. From this standpoint it is quite correct to avoid stereotypical total appraisals of the personality such as "negatively hardened" or "uneducable," especially vis-a-vis the persons concerned, their collectives and guardians.<sup>7</sup>

The generally available readiness of the work collective to accept offenders corresponds to the feeling of responsibility for each fellow citizen. Sometimes, though, this readiness is not unconditionally extended to the group of persons dealt with here. The reasons cited are, among others, the major efforts needed and the small likelihood of success--with the efforts to be made considerably damaging the smooth daily flow of work. In such cases it is not enough formally to require enterprises to hire such persons. Here the overriding necessity is that of explaining to enterprises and work collectives (and the public generally) the social and humanitarian need to reintegrate such persons. Collectives and individual guardians require intensive and extremely expert guidance and assistance<sup>8</sup> as well as explicit public moral and material recognition.

Especially complicated by necessary is understanding for the social-personal situation of these citizens to allow them a status in the collective offering satisfactory social recognition (thereby reducing outside attitudes) and permitting appropriate reactions to disciplinary offenses, taking into account motivation as well as the objective and subjective decisionmaking situation. Their readiness for rehabilitation and hard work is vitally determined thereby. This presumes adequate information about the person and expert help with the establishment of the goals and approaches to a change in behavior.

Committees for the care of endangered persons and for reintegration in enterprises are well tried types of organizations, expanded in recent years.<sup>9</sup> They require further textual (sociopedagogical) improvement, so that the respective collective's difficult work with these people may be even more effectively assisted.

It is obvious from the characteristic features of these persons that the educational influences must relate to their entire lifestyle, including their leisure. The difficulties of such efforts are all too well known. They must be dealt with primarily by the work collective. Measures as per Articles 47, 48 StGB are accepted and carried out in the leisure period roughly to the extent of the success enjoyed with integration in the sphere of work. In addition, however, individual help is always required. Much of it is already offered by voluntary individual guardians. Technical instruction and backing, express appreciation and encouragement for them have been recognized as tasks that cannot be managed entirely by the well tried types of organization in guardian groups and exchanges of experience.

In our opinion alcohol abuse to the point of sickness and other physical or mental limitations to the capacity are to be given greater attention in rehabilitation; it is imperative especially to examine the need for medical treatment. Medical cures should be facilitated to a far greater extent than has been the custom, in order to avoid sickness-related failures. This difficult task can definitely be handled successfully and has already found recognition in practice.<sup>10</sup>

A final notable factor of influence is the persuasive force of justification of such measures to the person concerned in their actual and individualized form. In addition to the relevant facts of the matter, the prerequisite for this justification is the ascertainment of the causes, encouraging conditions and motives of culpability, the offender's behavior before and after the crime and, in particular, in the earlier rehabilitation process as well as the influence potential of the environment in order to finally arrive at the generalized judgment of the criminal's

ability and readiness for a normal lifestyle.<sup>11</sup> The trial should already orient to certain key points of the future rehabilitation process, based not only on negative kinds of behavior but also on the rudiments of positive attitudes.

It seems to us that more effort is needed for the appropriate individualization of rehabilitation measures. The relevant experiences should be more intensively generalized. The precise definition of rehabilitation measures, for example, should sometimes proceed in cooperation with the work collectives and these measures explained to the person concerned in the presence of the collective. It will then be more obvious that the measures are backed by the authority of the work collective and are not merely an institutional condition.<sup>12</sup>

#### Reaction to Infractions of Assigned Duties

Guaranteeing the necessary consequences of a response to infractions of duties means promptly to react, consonant with the causes, the social significance and the effects of the contravention and the personality as well as to do so in coordination with the educational agencies involved. Also to be taken into account are the objective and subjective hardships suffered by the persons concerned in the rehabilitation process as well as the motives for their lapse. In practice we have found that penal procedures as per Article 238 StGB are not called for with regard to every offense against rehabilitation measures.

First infractions of conditions as per article 48 Paragraph 3 StGB are usually responded to by the following measures which also roughly represent the complex of the types of response to be examined:

- A heart-to-heart talk between the person concerned and the persons responsible for his supervision so as to reveal the reasons for the offense;
- A warning or information about possible consequence;
- Consultation in the works collective and with the guardian on the causes and suitable responses;
- The possible amendment or supplementation of the conditions;
- Explanations or educational (for example labor code related) measures in the enterprise;
- Changed or more intensive individual care.

The examination of the prerequisites for the application of Article 238 Paragraph 1 StGB must proceed on the basis of the penal-political concern of this provision in order to exclude formal and stereotypical decisions. Penal responsibility as per this norm is the most severe state means of reaction so as to safeguard rehabilitation measures in criminal law. However, it is embodied in an entire system of other state and social means of response and may not be taken out of that context.

In its verdicts the Supreme Court quite properly and consistently drew attention to this penal-political aspect and repeatedly allowed appeals whenever the offending behavior did not display the seriousness required for an offense as per Article 3 StGB.<sup>13</sup>

The criteria drafted in this context in Supreme Court sentencing practice, according to which an offense is to be judged as per Article 238 Paragraph 1 StGB have proven to be suitable orientations to exclude the unjustified criminalization of individual infractions of duty. Such criteria, to be taken into account in their interrelated effects, are--in particular with a view to Article 48 Paragraph 3 StGB:

- The textual significance and place value of unmet conditions within the framework of the supervisory measures imposed;
- The effects of the breach of conditions on the rehabilitation and educational progress of the convicted person and the safeguarding of public order and safety;
- The frequency and length of time of the breach of conditions;
- The motives for the infraction.<sup>14</sup>

At the same time there are some elementary prerequisites for the appraisal of undutiful behavior as a crime according to Article 238 Paragraph 1 StGB. They are: The conditions as per Article 48 Paragraph 3 StGB were imposed by the competent commander of the People's Police, the state supervisory measures with respect to the convicted person have actually taken effect by publication of the conditions,<sup>15</sup> and the conditions imposed conform to the legal requirements of Article 48 Paragraph 3 StGB and can indeed be met.<sup>16</sup>

These same criteria must also be consulted when appraising the actual seriousness of the offense and meting out the punishment. The punishment of offenders as per Article 238 Paragraph 1 StGB is largely decided by the concrete seriousness of the offense, the circumstance of previous convictions of these offenders (predominantly several previous convictions) and whether other crimes were also committed. Consequently punishment short of imprisonment is only rarely imposed. A problem with regard to the penalty to be imposed is represented by cases involving a crime as per Article 238 StGB in the more severe recidivist conditions of Article 44 Paragraph 1 StGB, without other crimes being present. In these cases we frequently encounter a disproportion between the concrete seriousness of the offense, taking into account the fact of recidivism, and the threatened minimum prison sentence of 1 year. It is therefore necessary in these cases to examine the extraordinary mitigation of the sentence as per Article 62 Paragraph 3 StGB in order to avoid unjustifiably long terms of imprisonment.<sup>17</sup>

In connection with the penalty, the court is mandated to decide whether the rehabilitation measures in criminal law are to be maintained or others imposed (Article 238 Paragraph 3 StGB). The problems arising here have been largely elucidated in legal decisions,<sup>18</sup> and the courts are meeting their decisionmaking duties. State supervisory measures should be maintained if the life of the measures--after service of the main penalty--amounts to at least 1 more year; others are to be imposed in other cases.<sup>19</sup> Though this is not a legal provision, there should be the exceptional possibility expressly to abandon rehabilitation measures in criminal law in the case of a conviction as per Article 238 Paragraph 1 StGB.<sup>20</sup> This may happen, for example, if it turns out in case of repeated convictions as per Article 238 Paragraph 1, that--due to his personality development--the person concerned has little capacity for understanding and meeting the obligations imposed on him.

## On the General System of Rehabilitation

We mentioned the essential elements of the present general system of rehabilitation in our introductory remarks. They have proven their value especially in the version of the rehabilitation law and--where applicable--the endangered persons' decree. Unfortunately some notable losses of effectiveness arise from the inadequate delimitation of regulations (including the scale of requirements and response), demarcation of responsibilities, coordination of decisions, information and cooperation between the judiciary, state security organs, enterprises and work collectives involved.

Taking note of these weaknesses it will certainly be possible by more intensive efforts noticeably to limit the losses of effectiveness even within the scope of the regulations in effect. At the same time, though, we must consider that the system of regulations in effect is no longer easily assimilated by those who need to carry out the actual social-educational work in day-to-day direct contact with the persons to be rehabilitated (cadre officials, collectives, voluntary guardians, and so on), and no longer seems clearly enough coordinated within its own scope.

In addition to the present task in the current system to devote more attention and more intensively organize the conditions for effecting successful rehabilitation (including some specific material and personnel prerequisites), we think we must also consider the longer-term need to review the general system as a clear phased process of rising requirements with clear regulations on authorities and cooperation. The reasons for this recommendation are similar to those for a general regulation of penalty implementation.<sup>21</sup> In the course of this approach it will be necessary to expand tried and tested practices (for example types of probation analogous to Articles 33, 34 StGB) and also to consider new solutions. Attention must focus generally on more intensive integration in productive work and work collectives as well as individual help (organizational opportunities, expert guidance, moral and material stimulation).

### FOOTNOTES

1. These connections have been studied from various aspects in the past few years, for example within the scope of research by the Academy for Political and Legal Science and Humboldt University on criminal asocial behavior and on criminals with considerable integrative and disciplinary difficulties, of analyses by the judicial organs regarding the application of Articles 47, 48, 238 StGB and our own studies of recidivism and, lately, rehabilitation measures in criminal law.
2. See G. Kraeupl, K. Reuter, "Conditions of the Effect of the Penalty on Recidivists," NEUE JUSTIZ 1981, No 12, pp 559 ff (560).
3. See U. Pruss/H. Berg, "Measures for Safeguarding the Rehabilitation of Discharged Prisoners and for the Prevention of Recidivism," NEUE JUSTIZ 1975, No 10, pp 289 ff.
4. See OG [Supreme Court] Verdict of 31 January 1969 -- 5 Ust 77/68 -- NEUE JUSTIZ 1969, No 7, p 217.

5. See A. Meyer, "Tasks of the Administration of Justice with Regard to the Preparation of Rehabilitation," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK 1971, No 1, pp 39 ff.
6. On the basic orientation see also H. Weber, "Experiences of Socialist Countries with the Rehabilitation of Discharged Prisoners," NEUE JUSTIZ 1980, No 11, pp 506 f. Ultimately this also applies to criminals whose deformation of personality suggests their assignment to a sociopedagogical facility after they have served their sentence, in order to prepare them for the transition to a normal life environment, because after this they only have to handle social reintegration.
7. Practice draws attention to this necessary respect for and active involvement of the person to be rehabilitated, for example H. Reitmann in "Voluntary Workers of the Internal Departments Assist with Rehabilitation," NEUE JUSTIZ 1982, No 3, pp 130 f.
8. Publication of a "manual" could effectively assist the handling of such processes.
9. See J. Neubecker/W. Friedenstab, "Enterprise Commission on the Reintegration of Citizens Discharged from Prison," NEUE JUSTIZ 1982, No 2, pp 85 f; H. Petzold/H. Reitmann, "The Rehabilitation of Discharged Prisoners and Education of Criminally Endangered Citizens in District Managed Combines," NEUE JUSTIZ 1983, No 1, p 32.
10. See B. Fels/H. Schulz, "Commission to Care for Criminally Endangered Persons and Citizens Discharged from Prison at the Kreis Council," NEUE JUSTIZ 1982, No 11, p 510.
11. Attention has early been drawn to this connection between definite ascertainment of the facts of the matter with a view of possibly necessary rehabilitation measures in criminal law and the individualized choice and organization of such measures. See K. Wunderlich, "State Supervisory Measures as per Article 48 StGB to Be Consistently Enforced," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK 1975, No 6, p 220; P. Franke, "State Supervisory Measures as per Article 48 StGB to Be Applied with Greater Discretion," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK 1975 No 10, pp 373 ff.; W. Brunkat, "Effective Organization of State Supervisory Measures as per Article 48 StGB," FORUM DER KRIMINALISTIK 1975, No 12, p 453.
12. See B. Fels/H. Schulz, as before, according to whom such methods are already practiced "in special cases."
13. See OG Verdict of 18 November 1976 -- 3 OSK 34/76 --; OG Verdict of 6 March 1980 -- 3 OSK 2/80 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1980, No 3, p 34); OG Verdict of 2 November 1982 -- 3 OSK 12/82 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1983 No 2, p 15).
14. See OG Verdict of 1 March 1979 -- 3 OSK 3/179 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1979 No 4 p 54).
15. As a result penal responsibility no longer exists if the convicted person was not informed of the conditions (or could not be so informed).

16. The Supreme Court has, for example, explicitly declared inadmissible the duty to prompt notification of the failure to begin work without giving a reason for such failure. As a result no penal consequences arise from the infraction of this duty. See OG Verdict of 6 August 1981 -- 3 OSK 14/81 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1981, No 5 p 16).
17. Supreme Court verdicts have repeatedly and persuasively pointed this out, for example the verdict of 4 November 1976 -- 3 OSK 29/76 --; see also L. Reuter, "On the Application of the StGB Recidivism Provisions," NEUE JUSTIZ 1982, No 3, pp 118 ff.
18. See OG Verdict of 10 July 1980 -- 3 OSK 11/80 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1980, No 5, p 56); Cottbus BG /district court/ Verdict of 18 December 1981 -- 001 BSB 460/81 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1982, No 3, p 56); Halle BG Verdict of 25 March 1982 -- BSK 2/82 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1982, No 3 p 54).
19. OG Verdict of 11 August 1983 -- 3 OSK 14/83.
20. The Supreme Court has deemed this admissible in a case of diminished responsibility. See OG Verdict of 2 November 1982 -- 3 OSK 12/82 -- (OG-INFORMATIONEN 1983, No 2, p 15).
21. See H. Weber, "On the Content of Penalty Implementation," NEUE JUSTIZ 1980, No 12, pp 544 ff.

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RIGHTS, DUTIES OF CONSCRIPTS EXPLAINED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP (SUPPLEMENT) in Hungarian 14 Feb 84 pp 1-8

[Article edited by Colonel Dr Jozsef Somos, Ministry of Defense, in collaboration with Dr Gyorgy Szep, retired chief legal counsel: "Conscript Military Service"]

[Text] Today many of our citizens of military age are inquiring about conscript military service either because they know that soon they will get a draft notice in the mail, or because they have already received it. These young people are understandably curious to find out what becoming a conscript will mean for them in terms of their legal situation, and to what extent their rights and duties will change. Their military status at the same time also affects their relatives, for it also gives them certain rights and benefits. Since directly or indirectly the rights and duties connected with conscript military service pertain to wide segments of our citizenry we felt that it would be timely to provide our readers with more detailed information regarding these questions.

[Question] When are persons of military age called up for conscript military service?

[Answer] Persons of military age who have been found suitable perform their military service in the armed forces, that is to say in the people's army and the frontier guard. Persons of military age--except in the case of volunteering--may only be called up for conscript military service after they have turned 18 years of age. If for some reason the person was not granted a deferment of service, he must be called up to serve by not later than December of the year in which he turns 23 years of age. If, on the other hand, he is granted a deferment of service the possibility of induction may be delayed until the end of the year in which he turns 28 years of age. Persons of military age, however, who have been found to have illegally evaded conscript military service may be called up for conscript military service until the time they turn 40 years of age.

[Question] How and when are persons of military age inducted?

[Answer] Persons liable to conscription are inducted by means of a call-up order. This is usually issued 10 days before they must report for duty. Persons of military age who are married, have families, or are in a difficult financial situation are sent their draft notices 1 month before they are required to report for duty.

Persons of military age are inducted into appropriate formations by taking into account their level of education, professional training, physical characteristics, suitability and personal preference. Other considerations may also be important. Hence those who live in frontier guard villages or belong to the Youth Detachment of the Frontier Guard are inducted into the frontier guard.

If possible, persons of military age who are married, have a family or are in a difficult social situation are inducted into formations or stationed in places that are located within 100 km of their families from where their trip home would not take longer than 3 to 4 hours. The reason we stress the word possible is because we want to make it clear that it is not necessarily required to induct persons of military age with families to such nearby places under all circumstances. It may even be that this is not possible because there are no formations near the person's place of residence. This consideration, however, may even be set aside altogether should military interests so require.

[Question] What are the general rights and duties of a soldier?

[Answer] The soldier is free

--to exercise the rights and enjoy the benefits guaranteed to our citizens within the limits defined by his military obligations;

--to become actively involved in the social and political life of our country and in matters of public concern;

--to participate in and join social organizations and associations operating within the armed forces (joining and participating in associations outside of the armed forces requires the permission of the unit commander);

--submit request and present complaints and reports. Generally, soldiers are expected to submit their requests and complaints through the chain of command. They may also go outside of that channel and take their case directly to the appropriate party and political organizations, to their superiors during reception hours, to the military prosecutor's office and to the Office of Complaints and Public Interest Reports of the Ministry of Defense.

The soldier is entitled to:

--healthy and safe service conditions which allow him to carry out his military duties, and which appropriately reflect the given military circumstances;

--emoluments in accordance with his service assignment and rank (pay, clothing, leave, health care, etc.), and free time for rest and culture.

Ensuring these rights is the responsibility of his superiors.

The soldier is required to perform his duties according to the best of his abilities by observing the statutory provisions, regulations and directives pertaining to military service, and by adhering to the orders of his superiors.

[Question] How is the soldier expected to conduct himself in his unit area?

[Answer] The unit area is the "home" of the soldier. It is in every soldier's interest to maintain its culture and order. Hence it is also the soldier's duty to help to maintain order and cleanliness in his unit area. It is the unit commander who determines --according to the season or type of activity--what clothing is to be worn in the unit area.

Soldiers on free time may, within the area of their subunit, lighten their clothing while lying on their beds, staying in their sleeping quarters or other areas on post (sports fields, clubs, etc.), where they can enjoy various entertainment opportunities, and spend their free time in a cultured manner. Singing or listening to the radio (tape player, music box, etc.) is permitted only if it does not disturb anyone else.

Taking alcoholic beverages on post or into other military installations, serving and consuming them there is forbidden, as is participating in gambling and hazard games.

[Question] What personal effects is the soldier allowed to keep with him?

[Answer] In addition to his regulation equipment, the soldier is allowed to keep only a small amount of personal effects of limited value with him (toilet articles, pocket or portable radios, books, etc.). Having sound, picture and other data-recording devices, gambling equipment or cards on post is forbidden. Musical instruments are permitted only with the consent of the company commander, and must be kept in a place designated by him.

Soldiers who are in training and are transported by truck are--in the interest of safety--not allowed to wear rings.

Soldiers are allowed, without interfering with the activities and programs prescribed in the daily schedule and without disturbing their environment--usually during their free time--to listen to the radio in their possession.

Privates and junior NCO's--with the exception of those stationed inside the garrison--are not allowed to keep bicycles or motor vehicles within the area of the military installation or within its garrison.

[Question] What kind of provisions do soldiers receive?

[Answer] From the day they enter the service until the day of their discharge soldiers are entitled to provisions in kind. They must be served three main meals--breakfast, lunch and dinner--daily. By taking local conditions into account, they are usually also provided a fourth meal, such as a ten-o'clock snack, or in the case of guards a night-time supplement. In order to lend variety to the feeding a menu is prepared. The menu is usually composed in accordance with the training and physical requirements, age characteristics, local possibilities and established eating practices.

If while performing his duties the soldier cannot be given hot food he must be issued cold rations. Cold rations should consist of preserved foods and ready-to-eat canned meals.

[Question] What kind of clothing provisions do soldiers receive?

[Answer] Upon entering the service, the soldier is given uniform, street, fatigue and sports clothing and personal supply items.

The soldier must change his underwear as frequently as necessary, but at least once a week, and his bed liners, sleeping ware and winter underwear are replaced centrally every 14 days.

The soldier is responsible for continuously maintaining his clothing items, i.e. for sewing on missing buttons, and for cleaning and performing minor, non-expertise demanding repairs on his footwear. Whether on or off duty, the soldier is required to keep his clothes neat and clean at all times. The soldier bears financial responsibility for all of the clothing he receives for use.

[Question] What kind of salary do conscripts receive?

[Answer] The conscript's salary consists of a basic wage, some substitution pay and various allowances.

The monthly sum of the basic pay may be anywhere between 230 forints to 550 forints.

Conscripts temporarily detailed to serve as officers or NCO's are entitled to a substitution pay in recognition for the added responsibility which such assignments entail.

According to their purpose allowances may be divided into two categories:

--efficiency (classification) allowances and

--danger allowances (for mine deactivators, parachute jumpers, etc.).

Another allowance-like payment is the sum which soldiers receive monthly for buying cigarettes and soap.

In addition to the above, soldiers participating in national economic work and unit construction activities are also paid a bonus which may even exceed 1,000 forints per month.

[Question] What types of leave is the soldier entitled to?

[Answer] The amount of leave with pay is determined according to the length of military service and to the soldier's rank. Privates who have joined the service for 18 months can get 18 days, in other words 1 day after each month. In comparison, those serving for periods of less than 18 months can get 1 day of paid leave after each month of service. In addition, junior NCO's and NCO's are entitled to 2 extra days. Half of the 18 days of paid leave allowed--i.e. 9 days of leave--must be given to every soldier. It is a part of their emolument. The remaining 9 days, however, may only be granted to those who have proven themselves in training and work, and who conduct themselves in a disciplined manner. The decision in this matter is made by the commander. The above notwithstanding, this portion of the soldier's leave with pay is not to be considered a bonus leave.

If the soldier is performing the duty of an officer or NCO, he is entitled to an additional day after every 3 months he serves in that capacity.

Not counted in the soldier's leave is the time he spends traveling to and from home. The timing of the leave is to be planned in such a way so that the soldier can spend the unused portion of it during the month before his discharge. In determining the time of his leave the soldier's preference is also taken into account.

The soldier may be granted a bonus leave in recognition of his work performance. Until the disciplinary action taken against a soldier is cleared from his record he cannot receive a bonus leave. During an 18-month conscript military service the soldier may be granted a total of 22 days of bonus leave. In calculating this number all bonus leave must be taken into account, regardless of the rank of the superior who granted them.

It is forbidden, however, to promise anyone a bonus leave as an incentive.

An extraordinary leave may also be granted--if the soldier has already exhausted his paid leave during the period of his training--in case of serious illness or death involving a close relative, for the soldier's own wedding or for that of a sibling, for the birth of a child and other important personal reasons.

During an 18-month conscript military service the commander cannot grant more than 7 days of extraordinary leave.

A medical leave may be granted to soldiers who after the active period of some illness, or following operative treatment require rest or convalescence in order to become fit for service. Up to 30 days of medical leave may be granted at the recommendation of the doctor or hospital specialist providing the basic treatment; periods in excess of this require the approval of the medical authority in charge.

A soldier who voluntarily donates blood is entitled to a 2-day leave after the blood donation which must be given to him within 4 months after the donation.

For the period of his leave the soldier is provided a certificate of leave. This he must present or hand over upon demand to any superior, higher authority, police or other service official.

If the soldier's return is hindered by difficulties, he must report this telegraphically to his leave-approving superior. Extensions of leave may only be granted by the appropriate garrison commander (garrison commandant). The length of such an extension must not exceed 5 days.

[Question] When can the soldier receive a pass?

[Answer] The soldier may be granted a pass, starting from the conclusion of activities on the day before his day off until reveille the next day. This may be done for both within and outside of the garrison. Following the taking of the oath, married soldiers with families may, in order to maintain regular family relations, be allowed to go home to their families--depending

on the assignment of their units--at least once a month. This benefit may not be granted to those facing disciplinary action.

Married soldiers with families may also be granted short passes on training days, starting from the conclusion of training until the commencement of training the next day if their families live within the perimeters of the garrison, or within a distance from the post from where given the local transportation conditions he can be expected to return by the required time.

[Question] What kind of travel benefits do soldiers receive when going on a leave or a pass?

[Answer] If the conscript's place of residence is 20 km or more from his place of service, and he decides to go on a leave or a pass then six times a year, or if he is married, has a dependent requiring family assistance or a child living in a separate household, he may receive a certificate of leave that entitles him to free travel as many as 24 times a year.

In addition to the above mentioned six free travels, unmarried soldiers may receive similar benefits if the travel opportunities allotted to the formation have not been entirely used up.

Conscripts can travel for free by presenting their certificate of leave which in addition to the soldier's personal data also shows the first and last day of his pass. This allows them to travel in the second class section of slow trains, and beyond 100 km by fast train. Permission to use the fast train is shown on the certificate of leave.

Free travel on long-distance buses is permitted only under special circumstances, more specifically, on lines where there is no train service. In such cases the permission to use the bus is indicated in the travel order. The certificate of leave may not be used on long-distance buses, hence the fare must be paid by the soldier. He can, however, get a reimbursement by turning in his ticket to the financial section of his formation.

Once the soldier has exhausted his free travel opportunities and goes on a pass or leave, he is entitled to a 50 percent railroad travel discount upon presentation of the proper travel documents.

[Question] How is the soldier expected to conduct himself off post?

[Answer] Privates and junior NCO's are issued personal papers for leaving the unit area, authorizing them to go out, to have time off, to be absent and to go on a pass or leave, and to serve as the means for documenting comments made by the acting authority or superior in charge.

Without their military identification papers and permits to leave the unit area the soldiers may not leave post. Once outside of their unit area, privates and junior NCO's may only stay in the places that are indicated in their permits to leave the unit area and in their certificates of leave.

It also does not hurt for motorists to know that it is forbidden for soldiers to stop motor vehicles for the purpose of travel.

[Question] When are soldiers allowed to wear civilian clothes?

[Answer] The conscript must be in uniform. He is not allowed to wear civilian clothes even if, for whatever reason, he must leave his duty station. Off duty, civilian clothes may only be worn with the written permission of the commander entered into the "Certificate of Leave", or the "Permit to Leave the Unit Area" during weddings, funerals and authorized trips abroad, and during work performed while on leave.

[Question] When can the soldier have visitors?

[Answer] The first time the soldier is allowed to receive visitors is on his second off day after entering the service, and after that on any training holiday in a room off post, specifically set up for this purpose. Visits during times other than the specified visiting hours--in exceptionally well justified cases--are approved by the unit commander. For receiving visitors the soldier may also be given time off.

Visitors may only enter post during the times specified by the post commander, by presenting their personal identification papers. Alcoholic beverages, sound, picture and other data-recording equipment are not allowed to be taken on post. Intoxicated visitors are not permitted to enter on post.

[Question] When can a soldier be transferred?

[Answer] Transfers are usually made during times of enlisted personnel turnover. Otherwise, soldiers may only be transferred out of service interest, because of a change in their medical status or due to their difficult social situation. Married conscripts with families may only be transferred or detailed for periods longer than 3 months if as a result they get closer to their place of residence. At his own request such a soldier may also be transferred if this means getting him to a post where he would have an opportunity to earn an income.

Requests for transfer must be submitted to the unit commander. If the commander considers the request justified, he sends it up to the commander authorized to make the transfer along with his recommendation. The soldier then is informed of the decision.



[Question] Who can be promoted?

[Answer] Only those soldiers can be promoted who have met the necessary political and professional criteria, and have satisfied the prescribed test requirements. Another condition for promotion to a higher rank is whether the soldier has had the right assignment. There is also a certain waiting period which must elapse between ranks. The conscript, however, who has earned outstanding distinction in carrying out his duties or in performing a special task may--if the rank established for his position allows it--be given an extraordinary promotion.

[Question] What titles can soldiers earn in the socialist competition movement?

[Answer] Socialist competition is a movement which is based on voluntary participation. Its goal is to carry out the training requirements at a high level of quality, and thereby improve the standard of our military preparedness and combat readiness. Eligible to take part in the socialist competition are all conscripts and all of the various subunits in the formation. The soldiers and subunits make a pledge that their performance in meeting the general requirements of the competition and of their specific training requirements and assignment tasks will be either "good" or "outstanding." At the end of the competition period the soldiers and collectives are given appropriate titles on the basis of an overall rating of their performance. One of the preconditions for a soldier to receive an individual title is that he achieve an overall rating of "good" or "excellent" by the end of his training period. These titles may be:

--vanguard or outstanding soldier, squad, squad leader, platoon, platoon leader, company (battery), battalion, regiment, brigade and division.

Along with the titles of outstanding and vanguard, they may also receive a badge, bonus leave, bonus pay and an extraordinary promotion.

The titles of outstanding and vanguard are conferred under ceremonious circumstances. The bonus leave entailed by these titles must be granted within a month, according to a proper schedule. The badge may also be worn after the soldier leaves the service.

[Question] Who can receive classification grades?

[Answer] In all assignments where there is direct involvement in the operation and servicing of technical equipment (i.e. motor vehicle, combat vehicle and machine drivers and operators, telegraph and mechanical instrument operators) soldiers may attain classification grades which have been designed to serve as an

incentive to ensure that they acquire the necessary technical know-how as quickly as possible, and that they maintain their technical equipment in good working order and operate it without accidents. Soldiers of rank-and-file status may receive grades of first, second and third class. In order to receive a classification the soldier operating the technical equipment must attain outstanding or good results in carrying out his occupational regulations and requirements, his conduct must be beyond reproach, and his personal performance must be such so that it will help to ensure the uninterrupted operation of his service and the successful completion of the tasks facing his subunit. Soldiers with classification grades are also entitled to a classification allowance.

[Question] When is a military driver entitled to a fuel savings bonus?

[Answer] Fuel savings bonuses are paid to soldiers who in the area of driving and handling motor-driven mechanical equipment and machines, or in preparing them for operation have contributed to energy-saving fuel utilization. In order for a bonus to be paid, the motor vehicle or machine must be equipped with a functioning operation time meter, and the driver must have achieved actual fuel savings. This bonus is paid semiannually.

[Question] Are soldiers allowed to continue their education during conscript military service?

[Answer] Today there are still many among our conscripts who have not completed grade school. In some formations of our people's army--where the number of soldiers affected makes this possible--courses are organized in which soldiers can complete the upper grades of grade school, that is to say finish grade school on a voluntary basis. In these courses instruction is offered on two school days a week, after training hours. Instruction may also be offered in the summer. All costs connected with the course are paid by the people's army. Soldiers taking this course receive their text books, work books and other necessary school supplies free of charge.

There are also some conscripts who prior to being called up had started evening or correspondence school at one of our educational institutions. They may use their free time to prepare for their tests. However, no extra leave is given for continuing these studies.

[Question] How can the conscript receive vocational training?

[Answer] In the people's army, conscripts without professional training may--depending on their level of education--receive vocational training in a field which is related to their military assignment. Vocational training may be requested on a voluntary basis.

In order to be accepted, the applicant must have attained the required educational level, and must meet the health requirements stated for that occupation. In addition, they must also pledge to complete the prescribed course.

Participation in vocational training must be approved by the commander in charge.

For conscripts, participation in such training is free of charge. For their apprentice training they may use the military workshops, and may consult with any properly qualified specialist officer in their formation. The soldiers are ensured participation in the course and later in the vocational examination, and--unless there are important military interests that would require it otherwise--they are allowed to keep their original assignment for their entire military service. All costs and examination fees connected with the course are borne by the formation.

[Question] Is the conscript allowed to apply for admission to an institution of higher learning?

[Answer] With the permission of his commander, the conscript may apply for admission to an institution of higher learning. In order to be accepted for a correspondence or evening course, the soldier also needs a reference from his place of work. The application for admission also requires a character reference from the commander. the soldier may be given time off for taking the entrance examination. If having passed the test he is accepted to day school at an institution of higher learning, his conscript military service may be interrupted before the beginning of the school year.

[Question] Under what conditions must conscript military service have to be recognized as apprentice training?

[Answer] There are statutory provisions that determine the military assignments in which the amount of conscript military service spent must be recognized as equivalent apprentice training. Thus, for example, if the soldier served as a control station mechanic, light technician or power source electronic technician, then the amount of time he served in that capacity must be recognized as electrician apprentice training.

The amount of recognizable apprentice training must be verified by the commander of rank-and-file authority at the time of discharge.

[Question] Under what conditions may conscript military service be interrupted?

[Answer] There may be occasions when the conscript suffers accidental injury or becomes ill. In such cases, even under the most thorough medical treatment he may be temporarily unfit for military service. The determination whether conscript military service may be interrupted for health reasons is made by the Central Medical Review Board. The interruption recommended on the basis of the above board's determination must be ordered by the commander. This process is officially initiated, which means that it cannot be requested. In other words, neither the soldier, nor any of his relatives may ask that his service be interrupted due to health deficiencies.

Conscript military service may be interrupted in order to allow the soldier to carry out his family provider responsibilities in cases where an ailing relative living with him in a joint household needs to be looked after and cared for, provided that there are no other relatives who could be asked to do this, or that by staying away the soldier would threaten the sustenance of the relative. Family provider responsibilities may only be claimed in connection with direct relatives on the ascending line (parents, grandparents, adopting parents or grandparents), minor syblings, wife and children.

Request for permission to interrupt service due to family provider responsibilities may be requested either by the conscript or by the dependent relative requiring assistance, from the headquarters under which the soldier is serving. Along with the petition, the soldier must submit a family provider certificate--prepared by the local council of his permanent residence--and medical proof showing that the relative is in need of care. Without these documents the petition cannot be considered. It is a waste of time for either the soldier or the relative to try to submit their petition to any other organ. This merely delays the actual decision, for the petition may only be considered in accordance with an established rule of procedure.

The petition is decided on the basis of a recommendation from the unit commander by the chief of staff of the Hungarian People's Army, or in the case of frontier guards by the national command of the frontier guard. This decision is not subject to appeal.

After 11 and a half months of service (in the case of persons admitted on foreign scholarships 10 months) the conscript military service of soldiers who had been accepted to day school at an institution of higher learning prior to entering the service may be interrupted for educational reasons. Those, however, who gained admission during their military service are allowed to interrupt their service after 11 and a half or 15 months, but not later than a week before the beginning of the school year.

Conscript military service is also interrupted in cases of imprisonment if the soldier has been legally sentenced to a non-commutable prison term which he must serve in a non-military penal institution (i.e. in a penal battalion or jail). In such cases the discharge is arranged by the commandant upon notification by the courts. After the prisoner has served his sentence he is called up again to continue his conscript military service.

Conscript military service may also be interrupted out of important public interest in the case of soldiers who perform extremely important activities in social life, in our national economy or in the fields of science, art or sports. However, neither the soldier, nor his relatives or place of work may request his service to be interrupted on such grounds. Only the minister affected, or the head of an agency of nationwide authority may present such a recommendation to the minister of defense.

[Question] What are the consequences of an interruption in one's conscript military service?

[Answer] In cases where conscript military service is interrupted, the person of military age is temporarily reassigned to the reserve. Once the conditions that had originally warranted the interruption of service are no longer in effect, the person of military age must immediately report this fact to the replacement and regional defense command of his area of permanent residence.

For serving the remainder (i.e. the time needed to be made up from the 18 months) of his conscript military service, the person of military age should be called up, if possible, within 2 years, but not later than by 31 December of the year in which he turns 28 years of age. After this he can no longer be called up, unless he had illegally evaded military service. If this is the case, he may be called up until he turns 40 years of age.

[Question] What are the soldier's responsibilities?

[Answer] Soldiers who violate the rules of the service, or commit an offense against military discipline, must bear disciplinary,-- in more serious cases--criminal, and in the case of material damage--under certain circumstances--financial responsibility for their actions.

If the soldier wrongfully (intentionally or carelessly) violates his responsibilities, or in some other way infringes on military order--assuming that his conduct does not constitute a criminal act--he is committing insubordination.

If the soldier is found guilty of insubordination, he must face disciplinary action. He must also assume disciplinary responsibility for any regulatory infringements he may have committed.

If the soldier commits an act which is in violation of the criminal code, he must be held criminally responsible. Lesser crimes and military offenses may also be judged by the commander within his disciplinary jurisdiction. If, however, due to the seriousness of the soldier's crime it is not possible to act within this disciplinary jurisdiction, his case must be decided by court martial on the basis of an indictment issued by the military prosecutor's office.

If the military court sentences the soldier to a non-commutable prison term, and orders that it be served in a non-military penal institution, the soldier's conscript military service is to be interrupted, he is to be discharged, and he must begin to serve his sentence. After he has completed his prison term he must resume his conscript military service.

If, on the other hand, the soldier is sentenced to a prison term to be served in a military penal institution, he must serve his sentence as a soldier, and must subsequently be returned to his formation. Military penal institutions include the disciplinary battalions and military prisons.

The conscript may be sentenced to a term of not longer than 2 years in a disciplinary battalion, or 6 months in a military prison in accordance with the decision handed down by the military court. In the disciplinary battalions and military prisons the education of prisoners is ensured by way of curtailing their freedom, giving them military training and involving them in military-type activities.

The time served in a disciplinary battalion or military prison is not included in the period of conscript military service. In other words, this time is added on top of his conscript military service.

The time which the soldier spends in a military penal institution may, however, be included in his conscript military service if in the course of serving his sentence, and subsequently back in his formation he has shown exemplary conduct and has impeccably carried out his duties.

The conscript must wait 3 months after his release before he can request that the time he had served in a military penal institution be included in his service time.

There may be cases when the soldier is sentenced to a prison term by a civil court for a crime he had committed prior to entering the service which he must serve in a non-military penal institution. If that sentence does not exceed a year, the soldier's commander may request out of service interest that the execution of the sentence be postponed until the time of his discharge. Upon

such request the court will approve the postponement. It is the duty of the replacement and regional defense command responsible for the soldier's area of residence to inform the court about the discharge of a convicted soldier whose sentence had been postponed. Along with the notification it must also furnish a military character description about the convicted soldier. If the soldier has properly served his conscript military service, the court may officially recommend that he be granted a pardon, and that he be released from having to serve the term of his prison sentence.

The soldier bears financial responsibility for all criminal damage he causes the people's army in connection with his service. If the soldier is not at fault for causing the pecuniary damage, he cannot be held liable. The soldier is not at fault if he caused the damage on the order of a superior, provided that he had reported the possibility of a potential loss, and despite his warning the superior insisted that the order be carried out.

In the case of a damage due to negligence, the soldier's liability is limited.

In the case of willful damage, the soldier is liable for the full amount of the damage. He is similarly liable for losses of items for which he had been made accountable.

In cases of damage suffered by the people's army, an average statement is prepared. It is in this statement that the person responsible for the damage and the amount of the loss are identified, and the evidence needed for the determination of liability is assessed. After the average statement has been prepared, the commander of rank-and-file authority makes the final determination regarding the question of financial responsibility. This decision may be appealed within 15 days of its receipt. The appeal must be judged within 60 days by the superior commander. This decision is valid, and it cannot be challenged.

[Question] What kind of damages are the armed forces liable for with respect to the soldier?

[Answer] Losses suffered by the soldier are the responsibility of the armed forces, therefore they must pay the soldier damages. On the one hand, he must be compensated for all damages that have been caused to articles kept within the unit area or in other designated places. Even in such cases, the only articles covered by this rule are those which the soldier has been required to keep at his place of service, or which he had brought in by permission.

Another type of damage is the kind which the soldier suffers as a result of an accident or service-related illness. A service-related illness is one which has resulted in connection with the performance of one's duty.

Incidentally, requests for the payment of damages are to be submitted to the commander with rank-and-file authority. Such requests must be judged within 60 days. Decisions of the first instance may be appealed within 15 days of receipt. After decisions of the second instance the case may even be taken before a court. In such cases the petition should be submitted to the commander, or directly to the Budapest Central District Court.

[Question] How long does conscript military service last?

[Answer] The length of conscript military service is 18 months. This is the general rule. In the case of qualified doctors, dentists, veterinarians, pharmacists, and soldiers with two children, the length of service has been set at 12 months by the minister of defense. Conscripts with two children, who before their 12 months of service is up have a third child born to them must be granted a discharge, irrespective of the length of time they had served up to that point.

[Question] What is the situation of those who are withheld after they have completed their conscript military service?

[Answer] After completing their conscript military service, certain conscripts may be withheld for reserve military service for a period of not more than 2 months.

Persons of military age thus withheld perform not conscript, but rather reserve military service. In spite of this, they are due all of the benefits and entitlements that are enjoyed by conscripts (such as free travel). In addition, those withheld for reserve service also receive a so-called income-supplement allowance in the amount of 3,200 forints a month. Deducted from this is the monetary equivalent of the provisions which he receives in kind.

[Question] Who is entitled to a call-up allowance?

[Answer] Any person entering conscript military service who is employed, or is a member in a cooperative relationship that requires him to work is entitled to a one-time call-up allowance. The call-up allowance must be paid to the employee by the employer or cooperative before he enters the service.

Should--for whatever reason--the person inducted not be required to perform conscript military service, the employee may not be compelled to repay his call-up allowance. In case of a second induction, however, he is not entitled to another call-up allowance.

The call-up allowance is also due to the person of military age if he has already quit his employment or cooperative membership, and must enter the service during the period of his notice. It is due, furthermore, to persons who upon completing their higher



education are called up to resume their conscript military service, provided that he had not received a call-up allowance the first time he had been inducted.

The call-up allowance is 50 percent of the person's average monthly earnings. If, however, the person of military age has a dependent child whom he has been taking care of, the amount of the call-up allowance should equal 1 month of his average earnings. This call-up allowance is not subject to payroll deductions or any other types of debt obligations.

From the point of view of the call-up allowance, all persons of military age are to be considered providers who at the time of receiving the call-up order are solely taking care of a dependent blood, adopted or foster child in- or outside of their household.

[Question] Can the person of military age be granted a leave upon entering the service?

[Answer] In order for the person of military age to be able to prepare for conscript military service, and to take care of family and--if he is employed--work-related matters, upon request he may be given 2 working days off without pay. Members of agricultural cooperatives must be excused from participation in the collective work for up to 2 days. For this period, however, he is not entitled to compensation.

If as a result of his call-up for conscript military service the person of military age cannot receive the vacation time due to him on the basis of the time he had spent on the job, he must be given compensatory payment. However, even if he had already taken more vacation during that year than he would have been proportionately entitled to prior to the time of entering the service, no deductions may be made from his wages or salary on such grounds.

[Question] How does entering the service affect one's employment?

[Answer] During the time of his military service the employment status of the person of military age is temporarily suspended. Unless it had been established for a specific length of time, it may not be terminated. Military service does not affect one's membership in a cooperative. If the conscript decides to reenlist, his pre-induction employment status with his employer continues to be suspended until the completion or discontinuation of the reenlistment, and it may not be terminated by way of dismissal.

The suspension of one's employment or cooperative membership status means that its continuity is not interrupted by military service. According to the regulations that govern employment and

cooperative membership, the length of military service must be counted as employment or cooperative membership time. The employment of a person who is performing conscript military service may not be terminated during the course of military training.

In cases where at the time of entering the service the person of military age was employed in a position that had been established for a specific length of time, once that period is up, his employment may be terminated. If, on the other hand, he is called up during his probation period, his employment may be terminated on the day he enters the service, although he may negotiate a different arrangement with his employer.

In cases where there is a disciplinary action pending against the person of military age, and he is called up for military service before its conclusion (i.e. before the decision has been announced), the proceedings against him must be discontinued, unless the expected decision is immediate dismissal. In the latter case, the proceedings must be suspended for the period of military service.

[Question] What are the conscript's rights regarding his employment or cooperative membership?

[Answer] Employees are entitled to use their emolument land during their military service if they had received title to it already before entering the service. Members of agricultural producer cooperatives are--to the extent they had earned the right to it on the basis of their work prior to entering the service--entitled to continue working on their household plots even during their military service.

Their military service notwithstanding, members of agricultural producer cooperatives continue to be entitled to the land leases due to cooperative members.

Persons performing military service are entitled to profit sharing from their enterprises, year-end dividends from their industrial cooperatives or year-end supplemental dividends from their agricultural farms. The dividends paid to persons performing conscript military service should be in proportion with the amount of time they had spent on the job prior to joining the service.

While performing his military service, the person's tenancy in his official quarters must be kept intact. It may be terminated only in the specific cases stated in the statutory provisions governing apartment leases.

Employees performing military service are entitled to all of the benefits and allowances that have been granted to all employees in our collective agreements, statutes and labor regulations.

[Question] What kind of therapeutic and preventive services do soldiers receive?

[Answer] Conscripts receive free medical examinations, doctor's treatments and hospital care. Other services they are entitled to free of charge include ambulance transport, all necessary medication, therapeutical equipment, and in cases of chewing-capacity losses of over 50 percent, tooth replacement.

Health care for the soldiers is provided by the medical services of the armed forces which, if necessary, also receives help from the state health services. Soldiers must prove their right to therapeutic and preventive services by presenting their military identification papers.

The basic therapeutic and preventive treatment of conscripts is mainly the responsibility of the unit medical service. If the military unit does not have its own doctor, and if there is no unit medical service in the garrison, the basic treatment of the soldiers is done by panel doctors from the state health services.

[Question] What are soldiers entitled to in the case of an accident?

[Answer] The advanced state of military technology requires great caution, attention and strict adherence to the safety regulations on the part of conscripts operating technical equipment. However, even given all of these there may be extraordinary occurrences as a result of which the corporal integrity and health of the soldier becomes damaged. In such cases the soldier is entitled to the same medical treatment and health services which we have just described in response to the previous question. In addition, the army is required to pay compensation for all such injuries, as it has already been described under compensatory payments. And if due to a regrettable event the conscript dies, his funeral becomes the responsibility of the armed forces.

[Question] Can the conscript receive a postponement of his construction and other types of loan payments?

[Answer] On occasions, the conscript entering the service may have a construction, apartment-purchase or other type of OTP [National Savings Bank] loan obligations on which he is expected to continue making payments also during his military service. In such cases the soldier may request his monthly payments to be suspended or reduced. Such requests should be submitted to the appropriate OTP branch. The OTP evaluates every request on a case by case basis. If the conscript's spouse is not employed, or must live on a low income and is taking care of a child, it will suspend the payments, while in other cases it will reduce the amount of the monthly payment by taking into consideration the person's income status. This discount, however, must be made up after the

discharge in order to ensure that the debt is fully repaid by the originally established deadline.

[Question] What types of assistance are soldiers leaving the service eligible to receive?

[Answer] In order to make his return and readjustment to civilian life easier, the soldier may--in accordance with his social situation, state of health and conduct during military service--be granted a discharge allowance. Not all soldiers leaving the service are entitled to this. Since we are talking about a type of assistance, it is obvious that it may only be given in the case of social need. It is also conceivable, however, for a soldier leaving the service to be--on the basis of his social situation--qualified for assistance, and still be barred from receiving any as a result of his conduct. For no one may receive any assistance who, for example, has been convicted of a crime. The decision regarding the granting of assistance--which may be in the amount of 1,000 to 3,000 forints--is made by the commandant on the basis of the recommendation of a committee, created specifically for this purpose.

[Question] What kind of allowances is the discharged person of military age entitled to at his place of work?

[Answer] The wages paid to workers who continue their employment in their pre-service job should be determined in accordance with the wage adjustments and developments that have been made in other jobs of identical or comparable character.

When filling a civilian job, and determining the wage to be paid for performing it, proper consideration should be given to the qualifications and apprentice training that the person had received during his conscript military service.

No one who has just left the service may be given a notice of termination by his employer sooner than 15 days after his date of discharge. However, the person discharged must report for work to his employer within 14 days after leaving the service. Should he fail to do so, he may be handed his work book with the word "resigned" in it which has the same impact as termination for disciplinary reasons.

Persons who within 30 days of completing their military service find new employment, or who within 14 days of their discharge resume work in their established jobs must--at their request--be paid 2 weeks of their basic wage in advance. Wages that are paid out in this manner must be deducted within 2 months after the month of disbursement, in two installments--, although at the request of the employee it may be done in several installments, but within not longer than 6 months after the month of disbursement--from the employee's salary. If the worker's employment status

is terminated before that time, the full amount of the outstanding balance must be deducted from his wage.

Persons reporting for work who have just been discharged from conscript military service must--at their request--be placed in workers' quarters if prior to entering the service that was where they had resided, and if the employer still maintains workers' quarters at the time of their discharge.

At their request, workers who have completed their conscript military service must be granted 30 days of unpaid (non-compensatory) leave within 2 years of their discharge in order to make it easier for them to prepare for professional examinations that they need to pass to be able to fulfill the requirements of their jobs, or to be reclassified for a higher position.

Should they decide to build or buy a home, workers who have been discharged from conscript military service must--under otherwise equal conditions--be given preferential treatment at their place of work (including the cooperatives) for 2 years after their discharge.

[Question] Under what circumstances do persons leaving the service have to be found employment?

[Answer] Finding a proper job for persons who are not employed (or are not members of a producers cooperative), who have suffered an accident or illness while performing their military service, and as a result have been receiving an accident allowance or disability pension, is the duty of the executive committee of the local council of his place of residence, and of the county, city, or district office of the replacement and regional defense command with local authority.

Such persons must be given preferential treatment when being referred to a job.

Regulations aimed at protecting the rights of partially incapacitated persons require that the above mentioned persons--who after their discharge have been put back to work--be judged the same way as if they had suffered an industrial injury at his place of work.

[Question] Under what conditions do persons of military age who have been discharged enjoy preference over others?

[Answer] Persons of military age who have completed their conscript military service must--under otherwise equal conditions--be given preferential treatment for 3 years after their discharge:

--in establishing employment relations, service relations or co-operative membership relations with them,

--in admitting them as students to an institution of higher learning, or

--in entering into any educational assistance agreements with them.

Persons who have become disabled in the course of performing their military duties must--under otherwise equal conditions--be given preference when applying for admission to a secondary or higher educational institution, or to become a vocational student. In addition, he must also be given preference in the granting of scholarships, educational assistance grants, or any other type of social benefit that is regularly offered at our instructional and educational institutions.

[Question] What kind of state support are persons of military age who have completed their military service entitled to?

[Answer] Persons of military age who within 15 days after their discharge become unable to work and are insured, or whose social insurance had expired within 15 days prior to their induction or during their military service are entitled to sick pay or sickness benefits. Persons of military age who become unable to work within 15 days after their discharge, but cannot receive sick pay or sickness benefits are still entitled to sick pay supplemental assistance for working disabilities lasting for less than 1 month. In 1984, the amount of this allowance is to be computed on the basis of a basic sum of 3,200 forints a month by taking into account the regulations which pertain to the disbursement of sick pay.

In the case of an accident or illness--suffered in connection with the performance of their duties--, persons who have fulfilled their military service obligations are entitled to accident provisions. The determination whether or not there is indeed a connection with the performance of national defense duties--since such a claim has serious moral and financial implications--is made by the commander of the formation. The person involved must be informed of any decision made regarding such a claim. The qualifying decision in such matters may be appealed to the minister of defense, or in the case of a frontier guard, to the minister of the interior.

As part of his accident provisions, the injured person may be entitled to accidental injury benefits, an accident allowance or an accidental disability pension.

The person of military age is entitled to accidental injury benefits if as a result of an accident he has suffered in connection with his military service obligations he has become unable to work.

The earliest such benefits may be paid is from the day following his discharge.

Accident allowances are paid in cases where as a result of an accident or illness connected with the performance of military service obligations the person loses over 15 percent of his working capacity. the amount of the accident allowance depends on the extent of the loss of working capacity.

An accidental disability pension is paid to persons who as a result of an accident connected with the performance of their national defense obligation have lost over 67 percent of their working capacity.

The amount of the accidental disability pension paid to persons of military age who during their military service had learned a profession must--at their request--be established in accordance with the medium wage-scale rate paid in jobs that are comparable to their qualifications and professional experience. the same procedures apply in the case of producer cooperative members.

A disability pension must be paid to any person of military age who has been discharged from military service for medical reasons that are not connected with the performance of his national defense obligations, if within not more than 2 years following his discharge he has lost 67 percent of his working capacity, and has satisfied the service-time requirement for receiving a disability pension as prescribed for employees who work in jobs with special age exemptions.

A person of military age who because of the above mentioned reason has been discharged before he has turned 22 years of age, is entitled to a disability pension irrespective of his length of service.

[Question] What kind of benefits are the relatives of conscripts entitled to at their place of work?

[Answer] In making decisions regarding employment or producer cooperative membership--under otherwise equal conditions--preference must be given to anyone from among the conscript's relatives who prior to his induction had lived in the same household with him.

The wife who shares a household with the conscript enjoys protection against dismissal, in other words her employment may be terminated by her employer. If the conscript has a dependent relative who is of diminished working capacity, he may only be terminated from employment if his employer can find him another suitable position.

If the conscript's wife is a member of a cooperative, the cooperative may not--unless they both agree--place her permanently into a position that is less advantageous for her.

[Question] What kind of social benefits are available to relatives of conscripts?

[Answer] The conscript's child, if his wife sharing his household is employed or is a cooperative member--provided that there are no other disquillifying reasons--must be accepted to the day nursery, kindergarten or daycare center operating in the area of his permanent place of residence.

If the conscript has direct relatives on the ascending line (parents, grandparents), a spouse or a dependent sybling--provided that there are no other relatives who could be required to take care of them--, they must--should they so request--be placed under social care without delay. Ensuring this is the responsibility of the local administrative agency which specializes in handling such social matters. This same agency may also pay the conscript's relatives a one-time allowance, if such an assistance is justified by extraordinary circumstances (i.e. illness, death, natural disaster, etc.). In deciding whom to admit to our secondary or higher educational institutions or for vocational training, preference must be given--provided that all other conditions are equal--to children of soldiers who have died in the course of performing their duty. They are fully exempted from having to pay any tuition, even if otherwise they would not be entitled to such a benefit. They must also be given preference when considered for scholarship, tuition assistance and other social benefits.

Relatives eligible to receive family assistance--about whom we will talk later--are also entitled to free pharmaceutical and therapeutic equipment provisions. For proving that they are entitled to these services they must have a "Certificate of Authorization to Receive Medical Provisions."

Relatives of conscripts are also entitled to accident pensions or dependent pensions that are more favorable than the benefits provided by the regulations of statutory provisions which govern social insurance.

[Question] Who is entitled to family assistance?

[Answer] Entitled to family assistance are the conscript's disabled and dependent wife, child, adopted or foster child, grandparent, underaged or disabled sybling, partner in life (if their living together has resulted in a child), his wife's parents (if prior to entering the service the soldier had supported them in his own household) and his divorced wife (if she has been granted an alimony by the courts). One condition is that the soldier had to have supported the relative in question prior to his induction from his own wages and income, or the relative's need for support had to have arisen after the induction, or it had to have been determined by the courts.



Also entitled to family assistance are relatives of the conscript who reside in this country but are not Hungarian citizens, provided that they are not receiving such social provisions from the authorities of their country, and that they otherwise meet the criteria for assistance.

The conscript's wife and living partner may only be considered simultaneously if the wife who lives separately has been awarded alimony by the courts.

[Question] Who are considered unable to work from the point of view of eligibility for family assistance?

[Answer] Unable to work are

--persons who have lost at least 67 percent of their working capacity,

--the conscript's wife or living partner, if she is the sole provider of at least one child, if she is at least 6 months pregnant, if her pregnancy has been determined to be critical, or if she is enrolled as a day-time student at an institution of higher learning or vocational school,

--female relative of at least 55, and male relatives of at least 60 years of age,

--siblings and children until they turn 16 years of age, or if they are enrolled as day-time students at a secondary educational institution or auxiliary school (for the handicapped) until they complete their studies, provided that they do so before turning 19 years of age; 18 if they are vocational students, 19 if they are high school graduate vocational students,

--siblings and children who are unable to work for an extended period of time or have lost 67 percent of their working capacity, provided that their condition has existed for at least 1 year, or is expected to last for at least 1 year from the time it has first appeared,

--the conscript's Hungarian resident wife who is not a Hungarian citizen, or who is a naturalized Hungarian citizen by marriage even in cases where the positions in her field of expertise require a knowledge of the Hungarian language, and because she lacks that knowledge is unable to find employment that would be in accordance with her qualifications.

[Question] Who is considered a dependent from the point of view of family assistance?

[Answer] Considered dependent are relatives of the conscript who are unable to work, and those employed (or cooperative member) relatives who are able to work, but whose earnings or total income from all other sources does not exceed the sum established as the basis for determining the amount of family assistance. In accordance with the regulations governing annual increases in social benefits, this sum is regularly increased. In January 1984, for relatives sharing the same household with the conscript this sum was set at 1,760 forints per month, which is increased by 70 percent of the amount determined for the first recipient after each additional person.

In the case of relatives who live separately from the conscript the amount is 1,450 forints per month, which is increased by 60 percent after each additional person.

In the case of several relatives sharing a common household, they can only be considered dependents if after their earnings and miscellaneous income from all sources have been added up it is found that the total amount of these earnings does not exceed the above stated sum for individuals.

If the relatives eligible for family assistance live in separate households, their earnings (and income) are computed per household.

No person may be considered a dependent who is receiving free support from the state.

[Question] What is the amount of the family assistance?

[Answer] If the relative does not have a source of earnings or income, the family allowance is the same as the sum used as the basis for determining the amount of family assistance discussed under the previous question. If the relative does have a source of income, the amount of family assistance he is eligible to receive is that sum which is needed to bring his income from all sources up to the basic limit used for determining the need for family assistance. Income from all sources does not include family allowances, childcare assistance payments received for raising children under state care, state assistance payments received for raising children under state care, state assistance paid to persons continuing their education, assistance provided on the basis of scholarship agreements concluded with one of our socialist organs, payments received by women on childcare assistance for raising someone else's children, rent subsidies and personal allowances for the blind.

Below is an example showing the amount of family assistance a soldier's wife is eligible to receive after going on GYES [Child-care benefits] to take care of her first child.

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--Wife to receive	1,760 forints
--Child to receive	1,232 forints
--Supplement to be paid in accordance with the statutory provision (110 forints per person)	220 forints
Total:	<u>3,212 forints</u>
--Minus the total amount of gyys and any other payments received as supplements to it or to the family allowance (800+360+260)	<u>-1,420 forints</u> 1,792 forints

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[Question] How is the need for family assistance determined, and how is it paid?

[Answer] Application requesting a determination of eligibility for and payment of family assistance should be submitted by the conscript or his relative upon receipt of the call-up order to the specialized administrative agency of the local council responsible for the area of permanent residence of the person of military age, or to the medical administrative department of the executive council of the appropriate city or capital city district councils.

The local specialized administrative agency will decide whether or not the request for the payment of family assistance should be granted within 30 days. A copy of the decision is then sent to the applicant, and another to the SZOT [National Council of the Trade Unions] Main Directorate for Social Insurance, so that it can commence disbursing the assistance payments. The decision may be appealed within 15 days of its receipt.

Family assistance payments may not commence before the first day of the month following the conscript's induction, and it is paid subsequently, on a monthly basis.

In the case of requests submitted after the induction, no retroactive family assistance payments may be made, going back further than the first day of the sixth month prior to the submission of the petition.

Family assistance payments are discontinued effective the last day of the month following the termination of the soldier's conscript military service, or on the first day of the month after it has

been established that one of the eligibility criteria is no longer met.

Relatives of a person of military age who has been discharged due to an illness or accident he had suffered in the course of his military service, and who as a result has been the recipient of supplemental assistance in addition to his sick pay must be allowed, during the course of his illness--but for not longer than 1 year, or in the case of a tubercular illness 2 years after his discharge --to continue to receive family assistance.

[Question] Can the amount of the family assistance change?

[Answer] If after the amount of the family assistance has been determined there is a change in the earnings (income) status of the relative in question that would justify an increase in his assistance payments, he may request that amount to be raised. In such cases, the amount of the assistance must be raised, effective on the first day of the month following the change in the recipient's status.

Changes requiring the discontinuation or reduction of assistance payments must be reported in writing by the recipient relative to the appropriate local specialized administrative agency within 8 days. In such cases, the family assistance payments must be discontinued or reduced, effective on the first day of the month after the change.

Family assistance payments unlawfully accepted by the relative must be repaid. Jointly responsible for the return of such payments is the person--sharing the same household with the relative in question--whose conscript military service has been the basis of the relative's eligibility for family assistance.

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IMPORTANCE, POPULARITY OF 'THE WEEK' TV PROGRAM DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIREK in Hungarian 10 Feb 84 p 7

[Interview with Istvan Sandor, foreign affairs editor of the television program "The Week" by Eva F. Virag; date and place not given]

[Text] Generally 4.5 million people view "The Week," TV's political magazine. As it is a political program, this number is especially high even in an international comparison. Thus, in contemplating on the TV's influence, on the changes through which they affect public opinion (instantly or during the time of a generation), the question emerges, how conscious this role is being made in our country by the editors of a political magazine. We talked with Istvan Sandor about the responsibility of making opinions and the related questions of conscience as well as the responsibilities involved in programming. As it is well known, Istvan Sandor is one of the editors and hosts of the program, and foreign affairs editor of "The Week." TV has few permanent personalities who made a faster appeal to public opinion. Had we studied the characteristics of a TV personality, we would have to try to analyze Istvan Sandor's secret.... Instead, let it suffice to say that the TV editor with whom we are discussing these important questions, is a dependable person.

[Question] Concerning the responsibility connected with the medium, if I am correct, you had earlier experiences.

[Answer] It was in 1970 when I started to work at the foreign affairs department of the Hungarian Telegraph Agency. At that time the older generation was entirely absent in the agency's internal life. Thus a few of us received important assignments relatively early: in 1976 I became a reporter in Bonn. The agency was a good school at any rate, especially in terms of responsibility. He who deals with foreign affairs, learns that every word may have a significance. The reporter, in reporting an important political event, cannot consult anyone except himself. Being informed, being able to keep the pace and being able to decide are life-and-death questions.

[Question] With practice one can no doubt find a dependable method to attain these. When you chose television, you gave up the experience you acquired during your 5 years in Bonn, for you are facing new and different situations.

[Answer] I had special luck as a foreign correspondent for the Hungarian Telegraph Agency, for even before leaving the country, I was given an assignment from the television. I mention this because I started working for the TV before beginning with "The Week." I was lucky because I was never nervous in front of the camera, and I was so interested in this kind of work that since I was seldom assisted by a cameraman abroad, I even learned to a certain extent how to shoot with the camera. At that time I had no idea of the future but, interestingly enough, I watched German television from a professional aspect.... I made a note of the types of programs, their methods and their techniques. I often wondered how much of their results could be made use of at home....

[Question] And how much of it was possible to use...?

[Answer] Surely, two fundamental things, namely: to consider the viewer as a thinking adult and to consider information as our primary responsibility. Both are proven by the fact that if an opinion is expressed in "The Week," it is always emphatically our own opinion.

[Question] Personally that of the editors?

[Answer] That of all editors.

[Question] And if the so-called editorial position is different from your own? If the host is not sincere and only plays his role, he still deceives the viewer considered an adult....

[Answer] When the editors do not agree on something and cannot convince each other, there are two possibilities. The news or report in question will be included in the program of the editor who identifies with its message and consequences. If this is impossible (we must broadcast it because of its timeliness), then I make no commentary. I say nothing but pure information. I really believe in what this program represents in its tone and orientation. It is good to know that concerning, say, the economy, the editors are for reforms and in the area of the services they condemn the contempt of the authorities.

[Question] In these questions it is not only "The Week" that has courage.

[Answer] True. But think of the proportions! This program is viewed by 4.5 to 5 million people--this is often more than the number of people reading the paper. Its effect is also proportional. We must recognize this, and we could indeed even be scared by the consequences and responsibilities that are connected to every statement of ours. Because there are always consequences, even if "only" several hundred people write to us saying that we spoke for them as well. And, of course, the other party also reacts, namely, the authorities. The authorities are angry with the program but they try to ameliorate their prestige for the public opinion. When the viewer feels that his questions were raised, that strengthens the program's reputation. This is basic. This is where everything begins. Our reputation is our sole support when, for instance, unpopular or unpleasant but necessary central measures must be

announced and explained. This way people can understand national issues that go beyond their own interests. Probably this is why such tasks have been assigned lately to "The Week."

[Question] Using an impolite but well-known word, is "The Week" a mouth-piece?

[Answer] Mouth-piece? Well, yes, we could say it this way, too. But it is used not only from above but also from below!

[Question] Five million people. I think, the knowledge of this will initially paralyze the editor. How is it possible to accept the responsibility for this kind of publicity?

[Answer] It is recommended neither to forget it nor to mystify it. I always think of 4 things. First, one must admit ignorance about something. When this arises, I do not want to give the impression that I am a specialist and know as much as anyone else about the issue. Of course, I try to avoid such a situation. This is why constant self-improvement, orientation, and reading are necessary in general and this is why preparing the theme of every program is necessary. Second, we must not always talk about everything as if it were a question of life and death. Responsibility is not the same as pathos. Third, the maintenance of physical and bodily condition is a must. He who appears on the tube should be organized and well-composed. I am not thinking of formalities--for the appearance in suit and tie is the easiest organization, at least seemingly.... Fourth, it must be recognized that the reporter is not doing an artistic production. His job is a special service, namely, to put the program's information into the viewer's consciousness.

[Question] When you adhere to all of this, are you are relaxed?

[Answer] No, because television in Hungary has a disproportionately huge role, influence and weight, and this makes one uneasy. In other places the television set is only a machine along with the radio, the record player and tape recorder. It does not stand alone in the main area of the home. Family life is not centered around the TV program. I think this is a kind of long adolescence in our country.... Television is still a miracle.

[Question] One last question: how do you know that what you think of the viewer is correct?

[Answer] I will not take on editorial work for another TV program. This is also something I learned in Bonn: one man, one program.... But I frequently go to provincial areas to talk about foreign affairs. This way I have steady contact with my viewers. This live contact is terribly important; there is nothing else from which one can learn so much.

## DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL PLURALISM SUMMED UP

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish Nov-Dec 83 pp 144-146

[Text] In this issue, we are publishing an article by Grazyna Ulicka entitled "Marxist Evaluation of Political Pluralism." This represents another opinion in the discussion on pluralism which began with the article of Jan Wawrzyniak entitled "Dialectic on the Leading Role of the Party and Socialist Democracy" (NOWE DROGI No 9, 1982).

However, due to the considerable extension in time of this phase of the discussion, we would like to refresh the memory of our readers about its course to date and the subject of the dispute and major positions represented in the discussion.

The core of the dispute is the issue of political pluralism, its evaluation and especially its relation to socialist reality. In the aforementioned article, J. Wawrzyniak presented the theory about the possibility and need for incorporating specifically understood pluralism into the political structures of our reality. The principle of its functioning would be based on a maximally broad and genuine articulation of the interests and needs of various social classes and groups as well as on the recognition of this fact by political decisionmaking centers with the Marxist-Leninist party at the head. This thesis and its interpretation were questioned by Tadeusz Wrebiak in his "Letter to the Editor-in-Chief" (NOWE DROGI No 12, 1982).

The reaction to this criticism came in the form of a subsequent text from J. Wawrzyniak entitled "An Answer Not Only to the Letter to the Editor-in-Chief" (NOWE DROGI No 4, 1983). The next person to express himself in the discussion was B. Ponikowski ("Democracy and Socialism," NOWE DROGI No 6, 1983). Subsequent texts which were published in close connection with this discussion were: T. Wrebiak's "Socialism and Pluralism" (NOWE DROGI No 8, 1983); E. Zielinski's "Pluralism in Polish Social Reality" (NOWE DROGI No 9, 1983); J. Muszynski's "Political Pluralism--The End or Means of the Activity of Antisocialist Opposition in Poland" (NOWE DROGI No 10, 1983) and T. Lemanczyk's text which discusses the position of some of Eastern Europe's communist parties toward pluralism (NOWE DROGI No 10, 1983).



E. Erasmus also addressed controversial issue of political pluralism somewhat in his article entitled "Remarks on the Political System of Socialism" (NOWE DROGI No 6, 1983). G. Ulicka's text, which appears in this issue, expands the background of the dispute by bringing into the discussion informational input on the formulation of political pluralism in bourgeois doctrines and in Eurocommunist concepts.

Immediately after publishing the article by J. Wawrzyniak, who in a sense is a "product" of our times, the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI defined unequivocally its opposing stand toward the introduction of political pluralism into the political system of socialist countries. In the introductory article entitled "To 100 Years of the Polish Labor Movement," we felt it fitting to state our position that the concept of alliances implemented after the gaining of power by the labor class should not be described as socialist pluralism (NOWE DROGI No 10, 1982). In the December issue (NOWE DROGI No 12, 1982), we turned to our readers with an appeal for participation in the discussion on the theses of J. Wawrzyniak's article and the "Letter to the Editor-in-Chief" written by T. Wrebiak by again calling to mind the above-mentioned fragment of the introductory article.

The appeal did not go without response. A total of 10 opinions expressed in the discussion were published. In sharing the point of view of the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI on the issue of so-called "socialist pluralism," the majority of those voicing an opinion polemicized decisively using the theses of the advocates of political pluralism in socialism. Their stand, which was argued seriously and in detail, deserves the discerning consideration of our readers.

The key concept for the entire discussion of pluralism seemed to appear in two different meanings: as a synonym for "free power play" and the multi-party mechanism, and as a term for a particular (not defined more precisely) procedure of presenting or accounting for the multiplicity of interests in social and political decisions. This twofold meaning of the concept undoubtedly had some bearing on the discussion.

We share the opinion expressed by many authors that the feeling of a need for various forms of organization of social life in socialism is widespread along with concurrent opposition to attempts at introducing onto socialist soil capitalist examples of so-called free political power play--the competitive struggle between political parties. It is fitting here to quote the statement made by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "In our conditions, pluralism so understood would mean opening the door to antigovernment powers whose desire is to return the country to already outdated forms and disputes which were settled a long time ago." Indeed, it would be difficult to assume a positive attitude toward any supposition of reviving the organizational forms and mechanisms of political pluralism which have already become adequately outlived in the Polish history of thought and practice. We also share the point of view of those authors who, in coming out against concepts of political pluralism thus understood, are at the same time in favor of the need for constant perfecting of the system of organization and functioning of socialist democracy.

We agree with the statement that the pluralistic concepts of some communists in such countries as England, Italy, France and Spain do not give their advocates in our own country a satisfactory and unequivocal confirmation of the usefulness of the model of the functioning of political pluralism. Moreover, let us note that various aspects of this mechanism and, in particular, the free play of political powers, the competitiveness of political parties and the struggles among them under capitalism, are distributed whenever they threaten the foundations of the capitalist system. We remember Spain in 1936 and Chile in 1973 as extreme examples.

We argue with the view that the shape of socialist democracy which develops in countries of genuine socialism is by nature defective because it is incapable of satisfying a variety of specific interests of various social groups. We are against political pluralism because we are for the development of socialist democracy. It is necessary that the institutional conditions of articulating the interests, positions and opinions of various communities be constantly improved. This is already being implemented in practice by the activity of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and by the activity of various consultative organs of the Sejm and the government. However, this is a continuous process whose essence is based on triggering and organizing the nation's creative forces, a process which prevents the recurrence of sharp social conflicts.

In accordance with such needs, the editorial staff of NOWE DROGI has conducted for some time now discussions on problems relating to the development of socialist democracy and has been publishing series of articles devoted to the issues of worker self-government, farmers, trade unions, etc.

The course of the discussion to date on the subject of pluralism constitutes a positive example of how a debate on various social and political issues on the basis of a fundamental union of political and world outlook determinants can and should be conducted.

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# CASE HISTORY CITES DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF WORKER COUNCIL WOES

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 pp 15, 16

[Article by Agnieszka Wroblewska: "And Later We Will See"]

[Text] In a letter sent in October 1983 to Stanislaw Czuszel, the head of the Torun Elana Workers' Self-Management Council, Kazimierz Hartwich, the factory manager, writes as follows: "Citizen, you and the council organs are put under an obligation to discontinue activities." "The work force will be notified about the date and method of carrying out elections in a separate letter."

In September 1981 the same Kazimierz Hartwich was democratically elected factory manager by the same Elana Workers' Self-Management Council.

The 2 intervening years saw a full spectrum of feelings. There was euphoria, there was despair, there was resignation. There was also the so-called process of normalization. Two conflicting views coexist in this process: one that holds that it cannot be the way it is anymore and that the administrative system must be changed; and another that holds that nothing will change because centralization is like a wooden Humpty-Dumpty that always rolls back to its normal position.

It is interesting for a journalist to keep track of the struggle between the two views. One may keep a record of this struggle and try to guess which of these views will prevail. What obstructs cool-headed observing and writing is memory. Several times within our memory a panic has broken out, or in other words an economic flop, and then a turn was always made toward democratization of the system, which was considered the last resort. And as a rule, after the first problems with reform had occurred, politicians came out in favor of a centralized administration and bureaucracy took power. Then another panic, and self-management was canonized and worshipped by the administration in order to avert the crisis.

So many of these memories have gathered that nowadays hardly anybody proclaims loudly that he is against self-management and that a centrally controlled economy is good. If it were not for these damned memories and experiences, if it were not for this mischievous practice that under no conditions wants to follow theory, one could prove the superiority of centrally controlled order over chaos.

So, when asked whether self-management is necessary, everybody says yes.

#### Factory Manager

The factory manager Hartwich says he is for the existence of a workers' self-management council because he expects it will help him. He expects that the council will persuade people to come to like unpopular decisions just when the factory management has to make such unpopular decisions.

On the other hand, however--says he--there was no workers' self-management council under martial law, and unpopular decisions were implemented in the factory. They went through very smoothly, as for example the parametric system, i.e., extra work for extra pay without supplementary hiring, or work on holidays.

He adds that a workers' self-management council could also integrate the personnel.

But on the other hand--says he--people are now interested in profit rather than in integration. Consider social services. In Elana the social services fund amounts to 30 million zlotys. Every participant in the organized vacation program is subsidized to the tune of 150 zlotys per day. There are a thousand workers' allotments and each needs fencing. A lunch in the factory canteen costs 37 zlotys. One can be housed in a factory lodging-house for a pack of cigarettes. How about potatoes for winter, a nursery, a pre-school? Meanwhile, many workers say: 30 million zlotys? Give 2,000 more a month to each of us and no problem.

The factory manager also adds that a workers' self-management council is needed because the personnel should take part in making decisions.

However, on the other hand--says he--I rely on a collective body. Once a month I have a meeting with the management cadre, once a month with foremen, and once a week I have consultations with other managers. Every Wednesday I have consultations on non-economic problems. Representatives of all organizations in the factory come to me and inform me what is going on.

It sounds beautiful, meeting with all representatives of the personnel--I tell him. But again my memory bothers me. Such meetings with the leadership of the youth, trade union, and party organizations have been held ever since the beginning of the history of the Polish People's Republic. Did managers not ask organization chairmen what was going on? Did they not attend more important meetings? Were they not among the presidium members?

I ask the factory manager: Are you sure that while having these discussions you have contact with the work force?

He is not quite sure. He would prefer a strong organization. But how can one create a strong organization now? One cannot conjure it up. He would like to have a strong organization, popular among the work force, which would, however, do what should be done. The management knows best what should be

done. They have real dilemmas. Consider production dynamics. It should be increased, but what for? Light industry will not take more. So, had they manufactured more, they would have had problems with sales. Problems with sales of yarn when clothing stores are half-empty? It sounds like a surrealistic joke. Would a workers' self-management council have any solution to this problem? Perhaps, the work force would decide: Let us manufacture as much as we can and what is not taken by light industry may be taken by handicraftsmen, small producers, or foreign Polonia companies. At least we will have some profit. However, the workers' self-management council does not express its opinion on such basic issues and the factory manager does not bother himself to ask the council members for their opinion. The secretary of the factory party committee scorns the idea of selling yarn to handicraftsmen. He would rather force women working in light industry to work on the night shift.

#### Party Secretary

Zbigniew Ciechan, the secretary of the factory party committee, also says that self-management is necessary. The party's job will be easier when somebody takes care of economic issues, and we will not be held responsible for economic decisions.

The secretary has some objections, though. The first one is that, according to him, members of a workers' self-management council should be blue-collar workers and not white-collar workers like the administration and management cadre. Will blue-collar workers be in a position to make binding decisions concerning the enterprise? Yes. He believes they will know exactly what is good for the enterprise. His second objective is that the council should not seek popularity. At this moment, it has focused its attention on defending people fired from their jobs under martial law. Nonetheless, the factory has far more important problems on the agenda.

Where is the boundary between seeking popularity and being an authentic representative of the work force's opinion? Who is in a position to draw such a line? If the workers' self-management council is to be authentic, it must be popular. Otherwise, there is no need for it to exist because people will not trust it any more than they used to trust any other official representation; I share my doubts with the secretary, adding one more. People are less and less interested in it. Is this not dangerous? We keep on saying that everybody should mind his own business and it will be fine. But this is wrong. Every citizen should feel responsible for the society as a whole. He should not think only about himself.

A couple of times people's indifference already yielded a dangerous crop. (The memories are coming back again.) As a rule, structures once assumed to be self-management structures fossilized. People ceased to react to dramatic appeals calling on them to be self-managing. Then all their activities were paralyzed and a panic began.

The secretary agrees that indifference is alarming. Thus, as a party secretary, he supports self-management. But I, Ciechan--he says--am for

a managerial system. One important thing is an efficient managerial system. Another one is the dictatorship of the proletariat as long as it is consistent. This is his recipe for the Polish socialism.

#### Workers' Self-Management Council

The council's presidium is for self-management, too. That is to say, it is for self-management now. They hesitated, delayed their decisions only half a year ago. They did not want to act under martial law. They did not want to act when the council's activities were suspended, and only after July 1983 did they decide that they should try.

A year ago a meeting of delegates resolved that "we do not agree to proceed with activity that follows from the restrictions imposed under martial law."

Most of them thought: "What kind of a workers' self-management council is it when for any meeting it has to have the factory manager's consent?" Some objected to this. "There are wage problems and personnel problems and the council should not participate in solving them," said the minority. It was the eternal question: To be or not to be? Who is right? Those who are silent when they cannot speak loudly or those who agree to lower their voices in order not to disappear from the scene altogether?

The factory manager suggested that the workers' self-management council be reactivated as early as the middle of 1982. The council members answered that the atmosphere was bad and that they did not see a possibility of reactivation. The atmosphere was changing anyway, getting better in stages and after the events in Nowa Huta nobody wanted to talk about reactivation. They thought of a referendum in all factory shops but the commissar refused to give his consent. The relations between the council and the factory management became frozen.

Most of the council members came to the conclusion that normal activity is impossible under the restrictions imposed by martial law. They were afraid of losing their authenticity. They were reproached for cowardice. Some of them attended council meetings, some meanwhile changed their jobs, and some lost their interest in taking part in the council's activities. The council was claimed to have a fragmentary character. In 1981 its members were elected in indirect elections, whereas the self-management law, later approved, says that elections should be direct. They were accused of illegality.

The management came to the conclusion that the council had disbanded, though in fact it had only suspended its activities and proceeded with electing new delegates. The idea was ill-timed. In most of the factory shops people refused to participate in such elections. In the minds of the work force the legal workers' self-management council had its place.

When they began meeting again, when they concluded that it was time for the council to come back to life, the council was an unloved child, a nuisance, bringing about disarray into an orderly family. The factory newspaper ELANA reported from the first meeting of the delegates: "Chaos prevailed.

The participants got lost in conclusions. Statements contradicted one another." Yes, it is true--the council people admit--people learn how to discuss things again. Again, every topic was discussed above. Again, idle talk lasted for hours. But what is important is that very slowly people began to believe that something can be done.

They said that the achievements of August 1980 had to be defended. The council members consider that the rationale behind the existence of the council is to improve people's frame of mind, to make them believe that something depends on them.

In a resolution adopted at the first meeting after martial law had been lifted, a postulate was included demanding "reinstatement of those unjustly fired from their jobs, compensation for wrongs done to workers persecuted since the imposition of martial law."

The newspaper ELANA criticized the delegates for overly general postulates, while the factory management responded with a series of petty annoyances. On one occasion, notices announcing a council meeting could not pass through the manager's secretary's office; on the other, no room could be found for a meeting or an announcement was removed from the notice board. Finally, the manager's letter came, saying: "Citizen, you and the council organs are put under an obligation to discontinue activities."

The question of those who suffered persecution under martial law became a bone of contention in the dispute between the council and the management. Could the council turn a blind eye on such a painful problem if it still wanted to be authentic? What is strange in the fact that at the first meeting of delegates a question was raised that the work force discussed full of bitterness? The factory management maintains that there was no wrongdoing, that all former internees got reasonable replacement jobs. The newspaper ELANA claims that making political declarations is not the council's business. Party Secretary Ciechan sees no reason why political opponents should be doted upon.

But the atmosphere is also important. A good atmosphere is in the interest of the enterprise. Discouragement and indifference are enemies harder to fight than political enemies, and at the same time they give rise to measureable losses in production.

#### Those Times Are No More

The Elana Workers' Self-Management Council had its heyday. The elections lasted several months--from February to May 1981. The electoral law, approved of in earnest, required that every candidate have at least 20 percent of the supporters. In order for voting to be valid, a meeting had to be attended by 75 percent. Then they met often, consulted together for long hours. In those hot days, resolutions dealt with everything: the mess in the factory's housing policy--there were 65 families living in factory-owned houses who had nothing to do with the factory; the lack of raw materials in a situation where some people were buying for their

own use a cotton fabric used to manufacture sleeping bags. The council members say they were flooded with problems pertaining to the observance of regulations but people had to make public their grievances that accumulated over years. They avoided individual cases, considering only those that could be generalized in the form of a resolution. So, for instance, the cotton swindle served as the basis for a resolution concerning uneconomical management, whereas the fact of firing a shop manager after 12 years of work gave rise to the idea of compiling a factory book of rules.

A model of the council's activities was the election of a factory manager. Members of workers' self-management councils from all over Poland were coming to learn how to do it. Experts-scientists were invited for consultations. Five candidates sent their applications to the council and then presented their programs to the work force. Kazimierz Hartwich turned out to be the best.

"At that time TRYBUNA LUDU claimed that Solidarity would advocate its own candidates, since most of the work force belonged to it," says Stanislaw Czuszel, "but a party member who was a member of the branch unions was elected."

Those were the days, say the council members. They will not return. As the philosopher says, you cannot pass the same river twice. People have lost interest, they are not so enthusiastic anymore. For the time being, there is an armistice with the factory management. They will keep on tolerating each other until new elections are held. If the work force loses its interest in controlling the administration, that will be the end. Workers' self-management councils will become what workers' self-management conferences [KSR] used to be. People will attend meetings, yawn surreptitiously, and raise their hands for voting.

We will resign when we see that we have no chance of representing the majority, the council members assert with conviction.

But somebody will replace them. After all, there are no people who cannot be replaced. A new stage requires a new approach. The process of normalization requires flexibility. Later we will see.

12607

CSO: 2600/679



REPORTS OF SIERADZ PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTION CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jan 84 pp 4, 5

/Article by Wladyslaw Bielski and Jerzy Kwiatek: "Sieradz: Let Us Act Prudently"

/Excerpt/ "Today we are not as concerned as we were during the last conference nor as uncertain about the future and our ability to persevere. We know that at the present time we must be equal to our responsibilities and assignments. We realize that we are better prepared and that the party, whose militant arm we are, cannot be disappointed in us." These were the conclusions of the referendum presented by the first secretary of the PZPR KW /Provincial Committee/, Janusz Urbaniak, at the provincial conference in Sieradz.

At the conference, 245 delegates represented 25,000 party members. Attending were: Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR KW, and CKR /Central Audit Commission/ Presidium member Stanislaw Majchrzak.

In the report and discussions following a large portion of the agenda centered on internal party problems. In evaluating the ongoing reports-elections campaign it was decided that it clearly confirmed the provincial organization's integration. Laborers and peasants comprise 60 percent of the party members and this segment also shows a high percentage among the new applicants. Occasions when some of the laborers and peasants refuse to participate in party functions create uneasiness.

Discussion

What are the reasons for this situation?--Jadwiga Marciniak of the Wola ZPD /Knitwear Goods Factory/ tried to find some answers. "In present-day conditions," she said, "this is justified to some extent when it comes to women who in addition to their vocational work have the important responsibilities of maintaining a home and family."

There was a noticeable resurgence in ideological work efforts, but to bring it up to a higher level will require intensified party education in this field, since at the present time it is still pursued sporadically.

In identifying the main economic problems, including the necessity for an increase in productivity, the role of the party members in the furtherance of economic reforms and promotion of trade unions was mentioned. The unions affiliate 41.5 percent of the total force engaged in the nationalized economy in Sieradz and in the advancement of labor self-government. The importance of farm problems was emphasized.

The following are some of the delegates' opinions: Zygmunt Fornalik from Laska stated, "Let us do everything possible, but with integrity, for its completion. Let us not try to do everything at once haphazardly and just for appearance's sake." One of the things he had in mind was better agricultural educational assistance. Continuing, Z. Fornalik called: "In the province of Sieradz only 30 percent of the farm owners have any kind of preparation in their field of endeavor." Jozef Matysial, a retiree from Sedziejowice, asks: "What are the party's most important objectives? Intelligent discipline, regard for law and order, respect for the people, efficiency and prudence in actions."

Stanislaw Placzek, a young farmer from Burzenin Gmina, brought attention to the negligent work of the agricultural service in the villages, to its lack of activity in disseminating agricultural knowledge.

All of the delegation speakers stressed the fact that concrete achievements and solutions to problems of everyday living are essential for an improvement in the party's influence. Mentioned were difficulties in obtaining gas supply and home appliances for the villages, frustrating experiences at the modern housekeeping centers, which were supposed to be closed down since they are unprofitable. In reality, that was not the purpose for which they were established.

The party should always be in close contact with the people, sharing their concerns. Zdislaw Pawlaczyk from Dobron said: "The main point in question is to have all proposals and suggestions which have been presented by party members and the activist group treated seriously and the cases requiring intercession resolved quickly. Unfortunately, reality most often presents a different picture."

Many of the criticisms were directed toward the subject of the necessity for continuous improvement in administrative procedures. The problem is not to be offended by criticism but to listen attentively to the facts and take appropriate steps. This was the attitude taken by both Jadwiga Borowiecka, a member of the Central Committee and a farmer from Buczek Gmina, and by Stanislaw K. Stronczynski, the chairman of the Sieradz Provincial People's Council.

The widening avenues for national understanding, changes occurring in the methods of administering authority, the upcoming council elections all require constantly increasing cooperation between the labor party and its allied parties.

We can nearly accept as being symbolic the pronouncements of two delegates, namely the farmer Henryk Sobierajski and First Secretary of the Zdunska Wola PZPR City Committee Zdzislaw Paprocki. In a train of thought similar to that of a small group of the few participants in the discussions who made their

views known at the Provincial Committee's Plenum held in 1980, they stressed their deep conviction that the party will re-establish its authority within society through its successful achievements. H. Sobierajski talked about Sieradz's agricultural accomplishments, pointing out at the same time the enormous shortages, one of which is the inadequate water supply at the villages. He expressed the urgency for reconciling farm pricing and for the further development of production assistance. He also emphasized that this is an integral part of the party's program. E. Paprocki declared: "This is when we have to be equal to the demands for the presence of the party in work establishments. We must improve the method of popularizing good producers and social activists. Party control functions have to be increased." Finally, the matter of cultivating the youth came up. The speaker proposed the formation of a youth commission as part of the newly elected Provincial Committee.

#### Comrade W. Swirgon's Presentation

At the conclusion of the discussions Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon took the floor. He stressed the importance and the particular character of the current reports-elections campaign for the party. The nature of it brings about an affirmation and also assists in the re-establishment of a closer order in the party ranks, a solidarity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The political continuity and stability of our party line has been retained, notably, its political philosophy and format, which as a fact was drafted by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Waldemar Swirgon devoted much attention to the explanations of reasons for the sociopolitical crisis from which our nation and society are slowly but surely emerging. The difficult and tense international situation is the reason for its particular complexity, namely, Poland's credit obligations and the sanctions imposed upon us by the countries of the West. He also indicated the importance of meaningful actions taken in the last 2 years in the area of the judicial decisions and the socioeconomic situation. He pointed out the importance of the upcoming people's council election campaigns, which will be a real test for all party members.

In conclusion, W. Swirgon addressed a number of problems presented in the discussions at the conference, among which were the matters of the younger generation and its reaction to some of the aspects regarding economic reforms, agricultural policies, expenditures and education.

Referring to the opinions expressed by the delegates, he explained the role and importance of Poland in the international arena, particularly stressing the brotherly cooperation with socialistic countries.

#### Janusz Urbaniak Re-elected KW First Secretary

At the conclusion of the deliberations the program was approved. New leadership was elected. Janusz Urbaniak was re-elected first secretary of the PZPR KW by a vote of 233 to 10.

12306

CSO: 2600/799

NEW CATHOLIC PUBLISHING HOUSE ANNOUNCED

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 7, 12 Feb 84 pp 1,5

[Interview with Rev Dr Waldemar Wojdecki, director of the Warsaw Archdiocese Publishing House, by Tadeusz Karolak; date and place not specified]

[Text] On 22 December 1983 Jozef Cardinal Glemp presided at the opening ceremonies and dedication of the Warsaw Archdiocese Publishing House. The goals of the publishing house are discussed below by the Rev Wojdecki.

[Question] Why was the Warsaw Archdiocese Publishing House created?

[Answer] Most of all because the Warsaw Archdiocese, one of the largest in Poland and the most numerous (about 3.5 million faithful), which is led by the primate of Poland, did not have till now its own publishing house. If one also considers the obviously great need in Poland for books and periodicals that are useful in the extensively undertaken tasks of Catholic education and pastoral work, then the reason for creating the publishing house is quite clear. To meet these needs halfway, efforts were undertaken which led to the concession by the proper authorities of People's Poland.

[Question] What are the goals of the publishing house?

[Answer] There are three goals. First, we are going to publish Bibles, prayer books, catechisms for children and youth, hagiographies and so on. In addition to these texts, which are needed desperately by the vast majority of the faithful, we will also publish specialized books. The Papal Department of Theology of the Metropolitan Seminary is an educational center that operates in the Warsaw Archdiocese. We will present the works of this department in a special series of publications called WARSZAWSKIE STUDIA TEOLOGICZNE [WARSAW THEOLOGICAL STUDIES]. The first volume of these studies appeared last year in honor of the 300th anniversary of the Warsaw Seminary. Second, we will present a history of Christian thought in the Warsaw Archdiocese and in Poland as a whole because it is difficult to limit this history only to regional matters, especially now when the entire church in Poland is preparing to celebrate the millenium of the Congress of Gniezno, and thus the entry of Poland into the family of nations of Europe. This took place, let us remember, in the year 1000 during the reign of Boleslaw the Great, the founder of Polish power. At that time the German emperor, Otto III, came to Gniezno, the then capital of the Polish state and

the seat of the Archbishop of Gniezno. Third and last, we are going to present outstanding works of religious literature, prose and poetry, Polish as well as foreign.

[Question] I suspect that most of the presented goals are quite similar to what other, similar Polish publishing houses already are doing. Aside from regional differences, will the Warsaw Archdiocese Publishing House have some kind of special quality that will differentiate it in a material way?

[Answer] In reality the goals are quite convergent, but please remember that the needs are great. None of the dozen or so publishing houses operating in Poland, whether associated with a diocese or a monastery, is in a position to cope with the demand. The editions of books are insufficient, especially Bibles and prayerbooks. In this situation, it is even difficult to think about excessive originality. Nonetheless, our publishing house will have a characteristic setting it apart from the others. Namely, we want to be involved with the ideas of the Millenium Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Poland's primate who died not too long ago. This will be an exceptionally important undertaking, and at the same time a very difficult one, considering the primate's activity, diligence and the times in which he was chosen to live and lead the church in Poland.

[Question] How will you achieve this goal, considering the well-known "objective" difficulties?

[Answer] A basic fact is that the publishing house does not have a printing facility; the ideal is to have our own such facilities. Of course, we are thinking about it. This, in turn, leads to projected editions of books which, unfortunately, are low. On the one hand, they do not satisfy readers' needs; on the other hand, they do not give the publishing house enough "financial breadth." The paper allotment is very low. For example, we already have the first book, which is entitled "Ojciec Swiety Jan Pawel II Ponownie w Warszawie" [The Holy Father John Paul II in Warsaw Again], but with an edition of only 5,000 copies. Our investigations indicate that if only one-fourth of the faithful who were present at the main papal ceremony in Warsaw wanted to own this book, then the number of books should be at least a quarter of a million copies.

[Question] What is the next book being prepared by the publishing house?

[Answer] Very soon we want to provide the faithful with a book on Cardinal Wyszynski. It will include statements about Cardinal Wyszynski by John Paul II and Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland, as well as autobiographical texts by the great primate. Thus it will be a triptych presentation of the Millenium Primate who, unquestionably, was highly esteemed in Poland.

[Question] In addition to books, does the publishing house plan to publish periodicals?

[Answer] Yes. For many years, since 1911 to be exact, the Warsaw Curia has

been publishing a periodical entitled WIADOMOSCI ARCHIDIECEZJALNE WARSZAWSKIE [The Warsaw Archdiocese News]. This is an official monthly for the clergy that provides information about and documents the life of the Warsaw Church. As I already mentioned, we also publish annuals called WARSZAWSKIE STUDIA TEOLOGICZNE. In addition to the annuals, we will start publishing again the weekly PRZEGALD KATOLICKI [The Catholic Review], for which we obtained an agreement. This weekly has a long and interesting history. It was published in Warsaw during the 1863-1915 period. It ceased publication because of World War I. It started publishing again in 1922 and was issued till 1939, when once again war interrupted its operations. The Rev Michal Nowodworski, the eminent publisher, founded PRZEGALD KATOLICKI and was its first editor. It should be remembered that in its first year of publication PRZEGALD KATOLICKI occupied a tragic place in our history--the January Rising. The paper's founder, along with many insurgents, was sent to Siberia. The Rev Ignac Klopotoski, who republished the weekly in 1922, was the founder of the Sisters of Loretto, the order of nuns who were specially chosen for the apostleship of the printed word. In addition, he was an uncommon man and priest.

[Question] This background places a special burden on you, Rev Director.

[Answer] Yes, I believe that is so. I look at the eminent predecessors, editors and publishers and think how I and the group that will be formed will respond to the current needs of Poland's believers. We will write about the present day and age, but we will not lose sight of history, which in our country is rich in various trains of thought and is of colossal significance.

[Question] What will the profile of the republished weekly be like?

[Answer] The profile will depend to a great extent on the place where it will be issued. It will be issued in Warsaw, the capital of Poland and the seat of the primate of Poland, and the metropolitan of two dioceses: Warsaw and Gniezno. Thus the weekly must be regional and national, and we are also thinking of our compatriots living abroad. We will want to publish the documentation of the activities of the Holy See and the church in Poland. We also want the weekly to be of a sociocultural nature, even though those problems will be linked closely to Catholicism. Our dream is that PRZEGALD KATOLICKI will perform a didactic function in addition to the informational one, so that it could form a Polish Catholic who is modern and open to the world. Only time will tell if we will be successful.

[Question] When will the first PRZEGALD KATOLICKI appear?

[Answer] We would like it to be Easter.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview. I hope you achieve all your publication goals.

11899  
CSO: 2600/707

POLITICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KRAKOW, NOWA HUTA EXPLORED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 8, 25 Feb 84 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Kazimierz Miniur, first secretary of the PZPR Factory Committee in the Lenin Steelworks, by Janusz Handerek: "Why Does Krakow Dislike Nowa Huta?"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] We are talking in the Lenin Steelworks, which for some people remains the epitome of the first big socialist investment project in post-war Poland, and for others--a site of political tension and the source of several street demonstrations which in recent years have shaken the district of Nowa Huta. Let us begin, however, by asking about the condition of the party organization in the Nowa Huta steel combine, of the organization which used to be the largest countrywide.

[Answer] It has remained the largest. In the Lenin Steelworks it numbers at present 5,170 members and candidates.

[Question] Not so long ago it counted over 8,000 members...

[Answer] As the juxtaposition of those two figures indicates, after 1980 the party organization in the Lenin Steelworks lost several thousand members. But it seems to me that one should not only look more closely at the source of this reduction in our party membership, but also answer the question: what kind of people have left our ranks? Not merely those who could not cope with the difficult period of the acute political struggle or were not ready to repulse the attacks directed against our party, since they had joined the party by accident and used the opportunity to hand back their membership cards. A very large group consisted of people expelled from the PZPR. When the time came to analyze carefully the attitudes of the party members, it came out that many of them did not meet the elementary requirements prescribed by our statutes, were unable to fulfill the ideological demands. But there is another group, also very numerous. It consists of comrades who have remained members of the PZPR even though their names do not appear on the rolls of our steelworkers organization anymore.

[Question] I do not fully understand.

[Answer] It is simple. After 1980, a relatively large number of the elderly part of our work force availed themselves of the then issued regulations and left for early pension or retirement. Most of them were people who in the 1950's had volunteered for the "Sluzba Polsce" [Service to Poland], who had laid the foundations of these works. They were attached to the combine not only through their employment here, but by their entire life. It was, after all, here in Nowa Huta that they had set up their families; their children have grown up here. Recently some 3,500 steelworkers opted for the aforementioned early pension or retirement, and among them there was a considerable number of party members.

But let us not forget that not so long ago the Lenin Steelworks had a work force of 40,000, while now it employs just 32,000. If party members once accounted for 20 percent of the work force, today they are 17 percent. The loss might seem considerable in absolute figures, but proportionately--and that is what should count above all--it amounts to a difference of 4 percent. Also significant is the fact that the party in the works has managed to retain its working-class character. Sixty-eight percent of our rank and file are, after all, workers.

[Question] That is still true today, but will it remain so tomorrow? Since we are paying that much attention to figures, let us also add that the party in the Lenin Steelworks is getting dangerously old. Young people do not feel attracted to the party.

[Answer] Before we deal with the young people, let us stay for a while with the problem of people who 2 or 3 years ago handed their membership cards back. At present we note ever more applications for readmittance into the PZPR ranks. The motivation is usually simple: I could not stand the tension, I could not stand the pressure exercised by the community, I was afraid of harassment, etc. Human weakness can be, to a certain extent, excused, but at the same time it should not be forgotten that the process of abandoning the party took place in a period especially difficult for the party, when closed ranks meant so much, when former comrades so lightheartedly deserted their colleagues on the battlefield. We have recently decided, therefore, that neither the Factory Committee nor the plant committees, but only the primary party organizations, will vote on whether to agree to readmittance into the party. People there know each other best, let them jointly decide whether they wish to belong to the PZPR together with those who had abandoned the party.

To come back to our young people, I have to admit that the issue of their adherence to the PZPR is a difficult one, not only in the Lenin Steelworks but in the party as a whole. Today we claim that the party has gained strength, has become more homogeneous, but such a diagnosis does not absolve us from observing that there are too few young people in its ranks. After all, the party has to be concerned with its future, and its future will be shaped by none other than the young. Of course, we do not mean and cannot mean any spectacular admittance of entire youth groups into our ranks; we intend to shape the young people's worldview in such a manner that the decision to join the party will result from genuine reflection, from fully conscious and responsible choice.



Youth organizations could contribute a lot toward this goal, but they are still incapable of achieving a proper balance between their advocacy of social demands of the young generation and the shaping of its ideological image. As long as we deal with party membership, there is something else, too: in the Lenin Steelworks we have recently noticed cases, maybe not all that frequent but significant after all, of people, usually over 30, joining the PZPR who, having acquired a certain amount of life experience, concluded that their place is nowhere else but inside the party. One can be convinced that such decisions, fully thought out, will bring in many excellent comrades. Thus, in the Lenin Steelworks the process of leaving the party ranks was halted long ago, and we note at present a slow numerical growth in our organization.

[Question] In 1981 I attended the PZPR reports-elections conference in the Lenin Steelworks, a conference full of tension and--as they used to say then--"raging democracy." It was just then that you were elected first secretary of the Factory Committee. Now, at the next conference, you have again been entrusted with the same post. But the climate is now different, the demands are different...

[Answer] Then, in 1981, many of us pondered on the direction in which the party was marching, and many were appalled by the lack of cohesion in the party ranks. Today the situation is different. The party's goal has been clearly set out, hence there is less anxiety. Also, let us not forget that in 1981 the whole party was facing seemingly trivial problems: shortage of footwear, for instance, or of working clothes, and our inability to meet elementary social demands. We have drawn our lesson from that period. We have worked out a program, and in it all the issues raised by the party, as well as by Solidarity and other labor union groups, have found their place. We did not stop to ponder who the authors of those motions were; it was only the pertinence of their demands that counted. Today the aforementioned shortage of shoes or working clothes seems ridiculous, and we have managed to raise the steelworkers' wages considerably, to guarantee leisure for every member of the work force, all the steelworkers' children can be sent to summer camps. We have decided to construct housing by our own means. In the next few years we will build an additional 5,080 apartments, and that should--to a large extent--satisfy the housing shortage of our work force. No wonder, therefore, that at our last conference such issues had to be replaced by broader reflection on the position of our party and on the combine's future.

[Question] After what you have just said, I find it difficult not to remark that in the same Nowa Huta where things look so nicely there have been open-air demonstrations, street riots...

[Answer] All over the country there have been many misunderstandings concerning the so-called Nowa Huta events, there have been many damaging and generalized judgments; they derive from insufficient knowledge of sources which shook not the combine so much, but rather our district...

[Question] This is a good opportunity to clear things up.

[Answer] I would like to begin by saying that with the exception of a few days between 13 and 16 December 1981, no strikes or stoppages have ever occurred in the Lenin Steelworks. The works functioned all the time. Here, inside the combine, there have been no demonstrations--whatever happened took place outside its walls, on the streets of Nowa Huta district. The site for provoking riots had been carefully selected with regard to the goals which were to be served by those demonstrations, and--I have to admit--it was selected cleverly. Nowa Huta has been, and still remains, the symbol of the socialist transformation of our country; it is here that the Lenin Steelworks are located. How successfully the Western propaganda was able to claim afterwards that the working class of these steelworks, the largest in Poland and built thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union, "protested, demonstrated, demanded," without adding, however, who had actually taken part in those demonstrations! Let us not forget, either, that the urbanistic makeup of our district, its relaxed structure, its long thoroughfares, the scores of passages that link various parts of the district, favored longer duration of the riots.

[Question] But the combine workers also took part in the demonstrations.

[Answer] We will return to this question, but to start with, let me say that the leaflets and the appeals to demonstrate had not been printed here, in Nowa Huta, but in other parts of Krakow, or even of the country, that on certain days scores of people who had nothing to do either with the combine or even with the district used to appear at the factory entrance. Having chosen Nowa Huta as the site for their excesses, the opposition used to bring "reinforcements" from the outside, whenever needed.

Please glance through the window and have a look at the transportation stop at the entrance to the combine. Here, at 2 pm, at a time when the first shift returns from work and is replaced by the second shift, just then, in a short period of time, some 25,000 people pass through. Not only from the combine, but from the adjacent plants as well. At this hour it is enough to hold up the streetcars and the buses, and a crowd of several thousand will start moving from the combine toward the residential neighborhoods of the district. They will move out of sheer necessity. Among such a large number of people one can always find a handful interested in rioting. A clash would flare up with the forces of order, and then we would have many hours of riots. It was characteristic that among those detained, the overwhelming majority consisted of young people. Many of them used to roam all over the streets in Pewex jeans without realizing, or not wishing to realize, that their fathers had arrived in Nowa Huta with a small suitcase, in one pair of tattered trousers and one pair of shoes. Today they should be grateful to the combine for having received a fair--and sometimes more than fair--standard of living.

[Question] May I deduce from what you have just said that at present no illegal structures operate inside the combine, that the opposition finds no support among the steelworkers?

[Answer] Had I said we have no illegal structures, it would not have been true. It will be true, however, if I say that the scope of their activity is dwindling daily, and today is virtually minimal. Once in these steelworks it was possible to turn people's heads by taking advantage of the not very high level of consciousness among the work force. Let us not forget that the working class here has roots of just one, or at most two, generations. We shall need more time for this working class to become fully consolidated, become fully aware of its aims, interests, and duties.

But even today, when the time has come to assess the recent past, when the passions have ebbed, the opposition finds no major response among the work force. I would also like to recall that during the riots, when public transportation ceased to operate, people were ready to walk for miles in order to arrive for their shift on time, while those unable to come were replaced by their colleagues, ready to work overtime. What always mattered was to prevent the works from stopping, not to disturb production. After all, the opposition was not interested in street troubles, they wanted to disrupt operations inside the combine. They never succeeded. And today? Today the trade unions in the Lenin Steelworks have over 10,000 members, elections to the self-management body and to the employees' council were held with over 70 percent participation. Those two figures suffice to answer the question of what the combine work force looks like today.

[Question] To end our conversation, I would like to suggest a different theme: the links between the combine and Krakow. I will not err by saying that Krakow does not like the Lenin Steelworks and accuses it of a deadly sin: years-long pollution of the natural environment and contributing to the destruction of Krakow monuments, unprecedented in history.

[Answer] Krakow may not be overly fond of the Lenin Steelworks, but the same Krakow should stop and think of what its present importance on the economic map of the country would have been, what its metropolitan area would look like, where hundreds of people would have found apartments and jobs, were it not for this combine. These steelworks have already merged into the urban landscape, and there is nothing to be done today but to look for the best forms of coexistence.

[Question] But the steelworks do pollute...

[Answer] We are now paying the costs of the fascination of the 1950's, when a properly belching smokestack was the symbol of industrialization, of the suddenly accomplished transformation. Afterwards came the years of the combine coming of age, followed by ever growing emission of soot and increased contamination. The steelworks attempted to save the situation as much as possible--it has rendered, and continues to render, assistance to Krakow. Still, those are half-measures only, they will not solve the problem.

[Question] What, then, will solve it?

[Answer] Only out and out modernization of the steelworks, programmed for many years. We have to begin with the most "poisonous" divisions, the coking plant and the agglomeration. Then other departments will follow. We are about to complete the construction of a major sewage treatment plant, we will put in clearing installations, but other investment projects exceed our financial possibilities, since their overall costs would amount to 100 billion zlotys. State assistance is unavoidable. In the near future we expect a visiting session of the government to be held in Nowa Huta, during which--we hope--our meticulously prepared long-term plan will be endorsed. I do not have in mind here the Krakow monuments only--even though one has to acknowledge the importance of the issue as well--but above all the health of the people who live in the vicinity of the steelworks and are employed there. Today, just 50 percent of the combine work force live long enough to retire. The others, after having worked for a dozen years or so, have to be pensioned off because of occupational diseases. Those are very alarming figures, and they demand immediate and determined countermeasures.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12485

CSO: 2600/791

GLEMP DISAVOWS CHURCH POLITICAL AMBITIONS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 13, 31 Mar 84 p 2

[Excerpt from an interview with Fr Primate Jozef Glemp by Andrzej Micewski as originally published in NIEDZIELA 4 Mar 84]

[Text] [Question] The Church has espoused the need for national reconciliation ever since the current crisis began. The Episcopate's motives in this regard are a natural outgrowth of the principles of our faith. A religion based on love is mandated to do battle with all forms of hate, especially so within the bounds of a single nation. However, the Church's opponents claim that it is motivated by its own institutional interests, or they even go so far as to attribute to it such absurd motives as were recently cited in DER SPIEGEL, namely, that the Church is trying to establish a Catholic political party or its own trade unions. As a matter of principle, we never respond to this kind of invective, but in view of the fact that there is a certain amount of confusion in the state of public opinion, especially foreign public opinion on this issue I would like to ask you, Primate Father, to comment on this.

[Answer] You mentioned the "need for national reconciliation." To be sure, this is a meaningful term, but it has a different meaning than that perceived by the general public. Personally, I see enormous difficulties with the attainment of reconciliation based on the conscious agreement to mutual concessions. This is why I do not talk about reconciliation so as to avoid being misunderstood. In the present phase of our moral and social crisis it would perhaps be better to speak of the need for coexistence in the midst of conflict. In this environment of conflict the Church must not only preserve love, but should also take action to see to it that love prevails. For this indeed is tantamount to the conquest of good over evil. Whoever fails to understand this fundamental truth may in fact wind up being taken in by the fabrications of DER SPIEGEL and naively believe that the Church wants to make some cunning moves to gain political influence. We are a long way from having any such intentions, although we do acknowledge that lay Catholics have a right to engage in political activity.

CSO: 2600/857

'OPPORTUNISM,' 'NAIVE EGALITARIANISM' HIT AS OBSTACLES TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 13, 31 Mar 84 p 2

[Excerpt from an interview with Prof Dr Wacław Wilczyński, director, Institute of Political Economy, Poznań Economics Academy, by R. M. Dessouliavy as originally published WEKTORY No 2, 1984 (bimonthly journal of the Polish Economics Society)]

[Text] [Question] We have been talking about the dark side of the implementation of economic reform. How do you explain the fact that attitudes of passivity seem to be able to adapt to new conditions?

[Answer] Passivity is a product of habitual modes of behavior, the prevalence of conditions which are conducive to opportunism, and the refusal to believe that the environment in which economic activity takes place has really changed. Success in overcoming this inertia hinges on moving as quickly as possible to realize the ultimate objectives of the new system. Any inconsistency in this regard and the contamination of the new system with old management methods contribute to the spread of passive, wait-and-see attitudes. The institutional machinery of the new system is not conducive to passivity, but it can tend to encourage administrative initiatives which are undertaken under the aegis of economic reform, but which in fact run counter to the principles of this reform. The persistence of various kinds of monopolies and the producers' and sellers' market also tend to promote passivity. Neither is anything being done to help overcome the crisis and dispel attitudes of passivity by those who espouse naive egalitarianism or fail to understand the fact that the crisis ought to be surmounted by the spirit of entrepreneurship, the fact that the machinery of economic coercion also creates good business opportunities, especially so in terms of coming up with new product ideas or figuring out which way the market is headed.

In doing the kind of work we do in the economic marketplace we do not put much stock in the kinds of behavioral traits you would expect to find in a monastery or boy scout camp. Economic success has to be rewarded. But here in this country the egalitarian, a priori redistribution of things which have not yet been produced does an effective job of discouraging hard work.

CONFRONTATION ON REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, SOCIAL PRACTICE

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 25 Nov 83 pp 22-27

[Conclusion of discussion published in JPRS EPS-84-017 of 3 Feb 84, with C. Popovici, I. Ceterchi, N. Popa, Gh. Cretoiu, A. Cazacu, P. Panzaru, C. Zamfir, Al. Boboc, I. Tudosescu, Gh. Al. Cazan, and O. Trasnea, produced by Pamfil Nichitelea]

[Text] The first two parts of this debate were published in Nos 15 and 21/1983 of this journal.

Constantin Popovici. The timeliness and need for the debate initiated by ERA SOCIALISTA are indisputable. The participants in the first rounds of the discussion made many and convincing arguments to demonstrate this need. The debate has a constructive purpose and consequently supports the assertion of creative thought, of a revolutionary spirit, in theoretical and ideologic activities, raising and offering for discussion topics and ideas springing from the imperatives of our times, from the reasons leading to the development of our socialist society.

I intend to refer, in a few words, to one the problems for which our party and its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, have opened fruitful vistas for theory that are most acutely significant for revolutionary practice, namely the question of nations' roles in the present era, the problem of national relations, of relations among nations. Against the doctrinary blindness whose paradoxical symbol is the denial of the actuality and perspectives of the national phenomenon, in this century nations have become and are the subject, the fundamental element of new historical laws. I emphasized this century, because although the first European nations have had histories spanning many centuries, it was not until the 20th Century that the nationalist movements in Europe finally overcame national oppression; it has also been the century in which national-colonial movements crushed the colonial empires of the large imperialist powers, as well as the century of the dramatic struggle for development--at times purely and simply for survival--against neocolonialism, socioeconomic gaps, and policies of force and dictatorship in international relations. During this century, the imperatives of independence and national dignity have lent unequaled dimensions to the history of the struggle against interference in domestic affairs and of injury to national sovereignty.

The right of nations to genuine, dignified, and secure national independence has thus become the first condition for social freedom, first among the rights of man, his civil, economic, cultural, free conscience, and free action rights; and a new historical law, a law of contemporary social development, has thus come into action.

The matter of a nation's destiny has been and ultimately remains a class problem, a matter of defining the social subject that has the objective possibility of assuming leadership of the movement for the progress of society, of the nation. The national progress function of the bourgeoisie has now become outdated in developed capitalist nations. In fact, the bourgeoisie is not the only class in the nation and does not represent the nation in its totality--as it never was the only representative national factor. The evolution of capitalism implies a fundamental change in roles. The progressive social function, and implicitly the progressive national function, work to the advantage of social classes and categories, which are at the same time the factors of historical continuity. In this respect, the contemporary factor of major significance is the working class, together with all the other classes and categories of workers.

History proves that for the working class, the achievement of social freedom and the fulfillment of national freedom are inseparable, just as inseparable as patriotism and the sentiment of international solidarity of this class with all the progressive forces of today's world. The full maturity of national life and the complete utilization of the nation's constructive potential are guided by the working class, which confers upon national interests the nature of its revolutionary goals, the sense of its ideals of freedom and social justice.

The theoretical demonstration of the unity between a nation and its own state is an acutely relevant idea--once again in spite of those who have declared it obsolete. Contemporary events demonstrate with a wide diversity of arguments, that without sovereign control of their own fate, nations and national communities are faced with fatal situations. To be sure, independence does not of itself, miraculously, solve the problems of development. Many modern experiences stand witness that a whole string of major conditions for social progress are generated with the achievement of state sovereignty on the part of nations. But these conditions can in no way be satisfied without strengthening the national state and its sovereignty.

In the process of socialist revolution and construction, the national state becomes a primary factor in the flowering of national life, in the assertion of new, superior traits for the socialist nation. In this sense, the state of the workers', revolutionary democracy in our country expresses the new conditions of the nation's socialist development, the broad manifestation of socialist democracy, and the conscious participation of the all the people in the progress of our socialist nation, in the shaping of their own future.

Ioan Ceterchi. The proposition of the RCP and of its secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu, that the dictatorship of the proletariat be relinquished and that the Romanian socialist state be transformed into a workers' democracy



state, is of exceptional theoretical and political significance both for our country and for the development of the contemporary Marxist theory of the state. The result of a realistic, dialectic, and antidogmatic approach, this proposition confirms once more that the general laws of the socialist revolution and construction are also implemented in the sphere of the political superstructure in forms that are concrete and specific to one country or another. Ultimately, what is essential, fundamental for assuring the definitive victory of socialism, for building a multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, is that the people achieve full power, and that this power be exerted by the workers and in their interest. Democratism--seen as a process of constant probing, expansion, enrichment--is what always characterizes the political power of the working class, the socialist state, the entire political system of the new order. Class domination, the dictatorship of the proletariat, undoubtedly represent a requirement of the socialist revolution and construction, but only for as long as there remain exploiting classes that are hostile to socialist transformations. This inevitably presupposes the elimination of private capitalist ownership of the means of production, of exploitation of man by man, meaning the "expropriation of expropriators," as expressed by Marx and Engels, and in the last instance, the disappearance of exploiting classes from the historical arena and of the breakup of society into antagonistic classes.

The manner in which class domination, dictatorship are exercised, and the acuteness of the class struggle are obviously not the same, but differ from one country to another, from one era to another, as a function of the concrete historical conditions of the socialist revolution. Repressive methods in the activity of state organs are not an end in themselves, but are applied to the extent required to curb counter-revolutionary activities on the part of the classes deposed from power, to stem their plots against the workers' victories, against the rights and freedoms of the majority.

It is true that the socialist revolution, that great and crucial achievement in the life of society and of the nation, does not proceed according to a book, according to pre-established plans and models perfected to the least detail. The strategy and tactics of the working class revolutionary party--whose leadership in the revolutionary process represents a postulate, a pledge of victory--contain the essential, fundamental guidelines, but new situations arise, rapid decisions must be made throughout the struggle, so that in the tumultuous progress of the revolution there also occur some mistakes, some excesses. A distinction must of course also be made between the stages of the revolution, especially between the actual struggle to achieve power and the subsequent stage, when the power must be retained and consolidated. But in no case may the dictatorship of the proletariat be invoked to justify abuses and illegal acts, repressive measures taken against innocent people. Extremely important in this respect are the decisions adopted by our party at the initiative of Nicolae Ceausescu, decisions which have condemned such abuses and illegal acts, taking adequate measures against their recurrence in the future, such that the principle of socialist, revolutionary legality be fully respected by state organs, sociopolitical organizations, party, state, and public activists, and all citizens in all their activities.

Nicolae Popa. During the socialist revolution and construction, and particularly after the Ninth Congress, the RCP devoted and continues to devote constant attention to sociopolitical organization problems, to perfecting the state's activity, to the efficient operation of the state apparatus, and to the most appropriate organizational solutions, in keeping with the profound changes that have occurred and are taking place in Romanian society. Naturally, an important role among these concerns was played by the concern for the evolution of the essence of the socialist state during the successive stages of the socialist revolution and construction, in step with the new qualitative elements introduced by the economic, social, class, and spiritual ideology transformations which characterize the physionomy of the present Romanian socialist society.

The development and strengthening of the socialist state, its growing organizational role in social life, correspond to the general cause of those who work. For a long historical perspective, the continued advance on the road to socialism and communism presupposes that the role of the state in the entire socioeconomic life is raised to a qualitatively superior level.

In the spirit of the theory of scientific socialism, our party regards the political system of our society, the socialist state as a living organism in constant transformation. It would be extremely harmful to conceive of the socialist state as an immutable, unchanging phenomenon, as if the laws of dialectics had ceased to function with the establishment of the new order. The problem of reexamining and characterizing the essence of our state as a dictatorship of the proletariat was also raised in this profoundly scientific and materialist spirit. "Even today," Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out, "some speak of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the state as is we were in the first years following the achievement of political power, when the working class, the worker-peasant state was fulfilling the historical task of eliminating the exploiting classes."

These statements illustrate most eloquently that our party's concerns for perfecting the state are in no way circumstantial, but that they constitute an organic part of our party's theory and political action, an expression of creativity and of a profound understanding of the spirit of revolutionary theory. They are founded on the truths of scientific socialism creatively applied to the concrete realities of socialist construction in our country.

The amplification and perfecting of the activity of the Romanian socialist state, the assertion of its role in the unified leadership of all areas of socioeconomic life, have been achieved by gradually stressing the political and organizational aspects of this activity, by simplifying and rationalizing the work of state organs, and by permanently democratizing it through an organic integration of the state in the the workers' democracy system.

The experience of building socialism in our country has fully confirmed that the soundness of the socialist state strength is assured by the manner in which it subordinates itself and protects the general interests of society. Constantly under the control of the people's masses, the state and its organs are responsible to the nation for all their activities.

At the same time, relinquishing the characterization of the state as a dictatorship of the proletariat, our party militates to strengthen the role of the workers', revolutionary democracy state, and to expand the collaboration between self-management organizations and state organs. As representative of the society and general administrator of the national wealth, the workers' democracy state oversees the strict application of laws, the assertion and bolstering of revolutionary law, and guarantees the free and unhindered exercise of the citizens' legitimate rights. As a society of dignified and free working conditions, the socialist society is organically bound to democracy and legality, to order and discipline.

Ioan Ceterchi. Through its nature and democratic essence, the power of the working class is first of all a power that expresses the will and interests of the large majority of society, of workers, independently of nationality. This democratic, revolutionary, and humanist trait of the socialist state develops and asserts itself most forcefully as a sine qua non condition of the socialist political system, of socialist society. Consequently, the dominating, dictatorial aspect inevitably disappears as a result of socialist transformations in society's economic and class structure, as a result of the triumph of the socialist economy and the new social structure of society, characterized by new, friendly classes and social categories--the working class, the management class, cooperative peasantry, intellectuals, and other categories of workers--united through socialist production relations and by the now-prevailing socialist ideology. The sociopolitical and moral-ideologic unity of the people, the process of social homogenization, together with the new, socialist aspects of the nation and cohabiting nationalities, are determining factors in assuring the transition from the dictatorship of the proletariat to a state of workers', revolutionary democracy.

I would like to point out that under the conditions of our socialist state, this transition occurred as part of a complex process, carried out under the leadership of the RCP, which having studied the real circumstances of our country and creatively applied the general laws of socialist construction, took the measures necessary for the continued improvement of society's organization and management activities. This has meant assuring--together with objective socioeconomic premises and subjective premises about political leadership--an institutional framework, unique in its way, for a broad, multilateral assertion of socialist democracy based on worker participation and greater political responsibility for the nation's fate on the part of every citizen.

We can state that the new orientations formulated by the Ninth Congress, which included the extremely important approval of the fundamental principles of the 1965 Socialist Constitution, and which were followed by the decisions of the 10th, 11th, and 12th congresses, and by the national party conferences, have led to huge transformations in the socioeconomic and political-ideologic life of our society, due to which our state has now become a state of the worker's, revolutionary democracy.

There exists no further basis, either objective or subjective, for the existence of a dictatorship of the proletariat. We have no proletariat but a new working class, we have a people, a nation characterized by a unity of will and fundamental interests; the power of the state is held by the people and is exercised directly through the representatives it elects in its own interests.

At the present stage and for a long period to come, the state of the workers', revolutionary democracy represents an instrument of hope for those who work, for all workers as owners, producers, and beneficiaries. Under the leadership of the RCP, the socialist democracy state stands as the organizer of socio-economic life as a whole, and protects the fundamental values of socialism and communism, citizens' rights and freedoms, as well as the sovereignty and national independence of the nation. The state is thus a powerful instrument for stronger collaboration and cooperation among all nations, for peace and social progress.

Gheorghe Cretoiu. Opposed to unilateral, reductionist ideas, our party is approaching the construction process of the new social order in all its magnitude and complexity, where economic, technical, social, political, and cultural-educational factors are perceived in their multilateral associations and their mutual effects. As we know, the major coordinate of this process is the achievement of the fullest conformity between production forces and production and social relationships, as well as the latter's improvement in close connection with the development of production forces. From a doctrinal or rhetorical topic, the problem of conformity has become a complex of highly original, long range, and socially efficient theoretical points and practical actions in our party's economic thought and activity, creating not only powerful social stimulants for the development of production forces, but also a sound foundation for adapting socioeconomic relations and mechanisms to the essence of the new social order, to the needs of a steadily rising level of maturity in the entire social system.

In this respect, an area of great importance to which our party is making highly valuable contributions, is the socialist ownership of the means of production. We must first of all remember that at a time when economic thinking was still strongly stamped by simplistic and unilateral viewpoints, according to which cooperative property was an inferior form of socialist property, Nicolae Ceausescu was already pointing out at the 1967 National Party Conference that the property of the people and that of cooperatives both had the same socioeconomic essence, forming in their unity and interaction the basis of our society's socioeconomic progress, and that any unfavorable comparison between these two forms, any neglect of either of them, are theoretically unfounded and can only harm the general interests of the socialist society's advancement.

In this spirit, our party has creatively examined the very notion of property, criticizing the unjustified identification of the peoples' property with the property of the state, and formulating a conceptual and practical system for perfecting property relationships, which will more strongly manifest and implement the essence of property as socialist production relationship. The

foundation and application of workers' self-administration and self-management as administration principles and mechanisms that derive from the actual property of the people, was accompanied by a number of measures aimed at perfecting the legal system of workers in their role of producers, owners, and beneficiaries--which more adequately implements the prerogatives and obligations resulting from their role as collective owners of the means of production--as well as expanding the role of the socialist state as general administrator of the peoples' property. Similarly, measures were taken in the cooperative sector to increase responsibility in self-administration and self-management, and in the protection and development of cooperative socialist property.

The improved organization of social life is based on an innovative concept of planned management of socioeconomic activities, representing in our party's conception, a component in the achievement of greater conformity between production and social forces and relationships. The theoretical concept of great political repercussions and practical value, established in our party's documents, according to which planned management represents an attribute of state sovereignty since it can be neither estranged nor divided; the formulation of an original concept of the content, functions, and implementation of the unified national plan for the country's socioeconomic development; as well as the establishment of an economic-financial mechanism that will consider the laws of socialism and respond to the concrete requirements of the present stage of socialist construction in Romania, are all expressions of the innovative and dynamic strategy promoted by our party to improve socioeconomic life.

Aculin Cazacu: Our discussion has raised some questions about the role of spiritual factors, and about the standards and values of our society. Examining them in light of the need to enrich revolutionary theory, I believe that we must devote greater attention to the practical formulation of our concept of the world, the manner in which it is structured for actual individuals, and the mechanisms for generating a revolutionary spirit at specific times and places. For instance, while we have seen many substantial treatments of the socialist social conscience (although some superficiality is also sometimes encountered in this domain), it is quite true that the exceptionally complex question of the individual conscience has been much less analyzed. By penetrating further into this zone of subjective phenomena, revolutionary theory can uncover new values for its own transforming functions.

At a time when recent party documents explicitly ask for greater responsibility and responsiveness from each person, for more revolutionary spirit in all areas of activity, it becomes increasingly necessary to orient our investigative efforts toward the issue of real man, of his conscience and attitudes, and of the values and standards that guide his actions. This question builds up into a huge reservoir of ideas which can constantly enrich the conceptual field of revolutionary theory. In this context, I believe that we must not lose sight of the fact that bourgeois ideology has explored the question of individuality to a greater extent, often converting the problems

of individuality into a system of persuasive propaganda, "exploiting" by manipulating credibility, weaknesses of individual conscience. In essence, our revolutionary theory has much more profound and powerful explanatory and operational possibilities to scientifically probe the matter of individuality and offer valid modes of "knowledge-action," capable of providing substantial answers to the much-debated question of the relationship between the individual and society.

Through its processes, socialism leads to the governing of a new historical condition of the individual, and to the tendentious balancing of relations between the individual and society in a framework of profound revolutionary transformations. Theory, the historical and dialectic materialist concept of the world, have the duty to enrich themselves, exploring to a greater extent these dimensions of the human universe, providing a carefully argued reply to individualist and unilateralist points of view, integrating into a new conceptual framework the typically socialist experience of solving man's individual and social problems. As I was saying therefore, the gain obtained from this approach is not only a cognitive one, but a practical one as well, reflected in greater efficiency for the modeling, transforming functions of theory compared to the real dynamics in the development of the socialist individual and social conscience.

Petru Panzaru. The need to assert a revolutionary spirit in our people's struggle and labor is closely related to the tasks and objectives of the current stage of development of our society, a superior stage in the socialist construction. In this sense, to be revolutionary primarily means to be a builder, in my opinion. Builder of modern, functional, highly efficient socioeconomic objectives. Constructor of high quality material and spiritual goods. Promoter of labor's high social productivity. Active participant in social leadership, fighter in the protection and development of socialist property. Creator of human relations imbued with the spirit of socialist ethics and justice. Implacable foe of bourgeois and petty bourgeois concepts and mentalities, of backward attitudes toward labor and property, of indiscipline and lack of responsibility, of mysticism, nationalism, chauvinism, and cosmopolitanism, of perfidious attempts on the part of anticommunist propaganda to pollute the conscience of our society's members, to inject the poison of mistrust and skepticism. This is because on a theoretical, ideologic, and practical plane, the idea of continuity for the revolutionary process is based on the objective fact that socialism continues to have adversaries who must be fought unceasingly with energy, skill, and a revolutionary, patriotic spirit.

It should also be added that the authentic revolutionary spirit is inseparably joined with revolutionary action in the practice of everyday life. It is imbued and dominated by the seriousness of labor and creation, by persevering activity to discover and overcome contradictions, by the concern to prevent difficulties, mistakes, and shortcomings, and by a high spirit of professional and political responsibility.

It is because the essence of the revolutionary spirit is action, constructive, creative activity, that it presupposes by necessity, competence, constant improvements in professional, economic, technical, and scientific training, and not least, in political and ideologic levels. The revolutionary spirit is the antidote against technicism. A balanced blend of professional competence, of one's standing as specialist, and of political competence, of one's standing as political man, is in my opinion the quintessence of the manifestation of a constructive revolutionary spirit specific to the current stage of development in our country.

Aculin Cazacu. The development and enrichment of the revolutionary theory in confrontation with practice, is a process which is implemented as unity in diversity. Accumulations at a global conceptual level are constantly backed by a great diversity of theoretical acquisitions in particular analytical areas. The creative spirit of revolutionary theory cannot be reduced solely to a system of ideas in this theory, but must also be seen in the light of enrichments in sectors and branches corresponding to fields whose sphere is more limited, but connected in a general, dialectic model. I therefore believe that we should exploit to a greater extent--by stressing theoretical creativity--the conceptual accumulations acquired in the area of human social sciences, sciences which have undergone substantial developments in recent years.

Gheorghe Cretoiu. An important area in the revolutionary theory of the working class, which has accumulated many achievements, is political economy, and economic thinking in general. Starting with the Marxist proposition of the decisive role of production forces in socioeconomic development--a proposition which has been widely analyzed and developed with new and original features and arguments in RCP documents and the works of Nicolae Ceausescu--our party has made a significant contribution to the foundation of the role and means for promoting the country's industrialization as decisive factor in eliminating the inheritance of the old order, and in restructuring the national economy on a new basis while undertaking the construction of the socialist order. Both the profoundly scientific concept it promotes, and the practical orientation of our party's economic policy for Romania's industrial development, demonstrated the falsity and tendentious nature of the theories which stated that the Romanian people had no industrial vocation, or those which viewed and continue to view participation in the international division of labor and the country's industrialization as a dichotomy, in terms of opposition, the latter being wrongly identified with a tendency toward autarchic development.

In our party's concept, the development of industry has constituted and continues to be the decisive factor in economic growth and stability, in the rational utilization of our material and human potential, in raising the level of civilization of our society, in strengthening national independence, and in developing foreign exchanges and cooperations with other nations.

At the same time, our party has analyzed the mutual dependence between industrialization and today's technical and scientific revolution. The proposition of principal importance formulated by Nicolae Ceausescu, that it

is imperative for industrialization, occurring as it does in the era of a powerful worldwide technical and scientific revolution, to be achieved on the basis of the most advanced technology, so as to assure the continued introduction into production of the newest conquests of science. This orientation, at the basis of our strategy and plans for socioeconomic development, has indicated a firm and consistent denial of the theories being circulated that not all countries can permit themselves access to leading branches, to "industrializing industries," due to their "lack of tradition, experience and basis of development," and that the shortest path of highest priority toward the achievements of today's scientific and technology is represented, according to these theories, by the importation of licenses, the adoption of results from economically developed countries.

Also notable is the formulation of a unified and comprehensive concept regarding the location of production forces over the country's territory, a concept in which the economic criterion is not absolute, but which takes into equal consideration the sociopolitical aspects of development, the unity and interdependence of economic and social requirements. This has been a basic component in reaching a fair, scientific solution to Romania's national problem, and only narrow minded theory and/or ill will can see in the policy of industrialization and rationally locating new industrial objectives over the entire country, anything else than a decisive factor for the balanced progress of all zones and for the actual achievement of economic and social equality for all workers, independently of nationality, as part of the general framework of the flowering of the socialist nation. "It would be difficult," emphasized Nicolae Ceausescu, "to speak of equality, of rights, if the elementary rights--to work and live--of man were not assured. That is why we particularly stress the development of production forces, the improvement of each urban and communal locality. This also strongly illustrates the justification of our party's national policy of full equality of rights for all citizens, independently of nationality."

Socioeconomic progress is closely associated with the balanced development of all branches and sectors of activity, beginning with industry and agriculture, as basic branches of the national economy. In this spirit, together with establishing the need and means for continuing the industrialization policy, our party has creatively attacked such problems as the interdependence of the two basic branches of the economy--industry and agriculture--and the place and function of agriculture in the present stage of development of the Romanian society. Moving beyond the approaches strongly ingrained in socioeconomic theory, according to which the concept of agrarian revolution expresses only the transformation of production relations in agriculture, limiting itself to the transition of this branch to new production relations, the secretary general of the party has established the multilateral foundations of the need, content, and directions of the new agrarian revolution. In the view of the RCP, the new agrarian revolution includes a large sphere, implying a higher level of technology, higher agricultural production, greater productivity and economic efficiency, as well as improved organization of production and labor, and of general social activities in our villages. This approach places in a new light an important chapter of economic theory, as well as a basic area in the policy for socioeconomic development and for building the new social order.



Catalin Zamfir. I would like to dwell on a major theoretical problem in sociology raised by our country's present stage of development. In my opinion, two distinct perspectives are open to sociologic research at this time. The first considers social life as an objective reality which operates according to its own laws, beyond and independently of the aware subject. Sociology must describe this reality and explain it on the basis of dialectic materialism and historical concepts. The second perspective considers life as a human activity oriented toward the achievement of certain goals and aspirations. It must not only be described and explained, but also improved so that the goals and aspirations of the collectivity will be fully achieved. In this case, the sociologist is no longer considered an outside observer, but a participant in the social activity that is the object of his scientific analysis. I would call this sociology the sociology of the ideal, or the sociology of conscious activity; sociology of the ideal because it analyzes the social activities for achieving the "ideals" of the collectivity so as to increase efficiency. As we know, specific to the socialist society are the social development processes consciously carried out, planned, and controlled through major political decisions. Socialism offers the framework in which it is possible for conscious social action to effectively become the driving force for all social development. But this framework is not sufficient by itself. For conscious social action to become efficient, it must incorporate a broad knowledge of social processes, to which sociology can make its own important contribution.

The sociology of the ideal therefore does not have objectives different from those of explicative sociology, but rather views them from another perspective. One of these for instance, is to analyze the sociohuman system of current Romanian enterprises, to show its structure, its general profile, and its internal variations, factors which explain its configuration, another being to analyze the process of sociohuman development in our enterprises, the crystallization of collectives characterized by a socialist attitude toward labor, capable of self-administration and self-management according to the principles of democratic-participative collective labor and management, actively oriented toward higher socioeconomic efficiency in all activities.

Sociologic studies that fall within these boundaries, developing a sort of social engineering, have been and are being conducted here. But in my opinion, a certain lag is manifest in this area, not only in terms of the general development of sociology, but especially in terms of the demands placed on this scientific discipline by society. This lag is not only quantitative, but especially qualitative.

The sociology of the ideal, independently of the concrete topics with which it is concerned, has its own problem, derived from the actual structure of its conscious social activity. In brief, I consider that the major topics which it should consider are the following.

To begin with it should certainly analyze the objectives raised by social activities. The great objectives of our society's development are determined, as is only natural, through political, democratic mechanisms. Sociology must

contribute more actively in this political decision process, helping the collectivity, the decision making groups, to examine on the basis of a broader knowledge, the desirability, opportunity, and feasibility of various objectives, and to formulate them in the most effective manner. Moreover, crucial aspects to be analyzed from this standpoint, are the mechanisms through which collective social objectives are assimilated by the members of the collectivity as their own objectives, orienting their creative efforts toward their achievement.

Secondly, the sociology of the ideal must in my opinion, be a science of social means, of the strategies to be used to achieve proposed objectives. In this respect, it can contribute in formulating possible means of action and in selecting them on the basis of careful evaluation. Throughout its activity, scientific analysis must always estimate the efficiency of activities as well as new conditions and possibilities. Such analysis increases the self-improvement capability of collective activity, providing an option to abandon methods which have proven to be less efficient and adopt new ones that have become available along the way.

Lastly, the sociology of the ideal focuses its attention on the sociohuman efficiency of all activities. An analysis of economic efficiency must be complemented with an analysis of non-economic sociohuman costs and benefits. This area of interest includes the studies undertaken in recent years for measuring the quality of life. To determine the quality of life means to ultimately evaluate the global efficiency of all social activities for the collectivity and for man.

The conclusions that can be drawn from research in any discipline are not ends in themselves, but contribute to the development of the dialectic materialist and historic philosophy. In fact, as our discussions have indicated, the Marxist philosophy has developed in multiple contact--I might even say intertwined--with the progress of sociohuman sciences, which represent an important source of creativity in revolutionary theory.

Alexandru Boboc. In promoting a new concept of thought creativity, of its understanding not only as a simple application, implementation of the universally valid truths of scientific socialism, but as an effective participation in enriching the fund of ideas of revolutionary theory, our party's documents also offer a methodologic guide for a dialectic understanding of the great confrontation of ideas in our era.

The wording of the Party Program stipulates "that in generalizing the experience of the present, we must at the same time assimilate all that is most valuable and progressive in mankind's thinking and experience throughout the world! We must entwine the experience of other nations with our revolutionary spirit, with our concept of the world, giving rise to a new culture that will take into consideration the specific historical, social, and national circumstances of our people." In the demanding, party oriented spirit of the revolutionary concept of the world, the program at the same time underlines that "the unsoundness of idealist concepts and the limits of other philosophies will be scientifically demonstrated in political-educational activities."

In fact, a true dialog between philosophers cannot take place if instead of arguments and discernment it uses general estimates, labels, if under the pretext of ideology opposition and irreducibility it does not consider the value element specific to philosophy as an area of human creativity.

In genuine philosophical criticism, viewed as a dialog with any one of the non-Marxist philosophies (orientations, tendencies), it is necessary I believe, to consider not only the critical aspect, but also the contributions which have earned some of the thinkers being analyzed a predominant position in the progress of theoretical values, in the universal culture. In my opinion, an increasing need is being felt for making a strict distinction between a given question and its interpretation in a given philosophical system. The fact that some disciplines (epistemology, axiology, praxology, philosophic anthropology, and so on) developed in various idealist schools, does not justify their denial of neglect. Marxist thinking is most directly challenged in the development of such disciplines, and Marxist philosophy must offer a true image of today's philosophic universe.

Ovidiu Trasnea. I might add that the very traits of our era, the greater volume and strength of democratic, progressive, revolutionary forces, raise the need for a dialog in the present worldwide confrontation of ideas, as a major source in the creative development of the revolutionary theory. In fact, a dialog is an essential requirement in the concept formulated by Marx and Engels, which--as Lenin also indicated--did not lie outside the natural flow of social knowledge and practice. On the contrary, classic Marxists have critically processed all that had been achieved up to their time, succeeding in dialectically surpassing that heritage. As a matter of fact, the very notion of dialog means communication, exchange of arguments, with the purpose of clarifying the questions proposed for discussion, and of circumscribing the positions of the dialog's participants on the questions being raised, implying a presumed or explicit wish, a willingness of those involved in the dialog, to come closer to the truth through a joint effort.

The usefulness of true dialog was also proven in the political arena itself, encouraging the efforts of nations, of the democratic, progressive forces toward better mutual knowledge and understanding; it has even imposed itself as a necessity in the evolution of modern international life, for finding solutions to controversial problems, solutions which do not cancel the differences of principle among partners, but which are based on finding common points that can allow joint action in the direction demanded by the ideals of peace, industrial collaboration, and social progress.

In this respect, the foreign policy of socialist Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of a large breathing space, a concept which embraces the vital interests of the Romanian people as well as the yearnings of mankind, his many initiatives and actions, represent illustrative examples of the effectiveness and humanism of such a dialog.

Alexandru Boboc. It is notable that during the past decades, as a result of the opening offered by our party's concept of creativity in revolutionary theory, and of dialog and confrontation of ideas, our philosophic research has

militated for the formulation of a new method of philosophic criticism, beyond its ne varietur operation under the heading "criticism of contemporary bourgeois philosophy." This concept has proposed several principles--today accepted by most Marxist researchers--among which are: a distinction between "bourgeois philosophy" and "non-Marxist philosophy" (the latter obviously irreducible to the former); promotion of the idea of "dialog in philosophy" (accompanied by effective participation); implementation of the principle of party oriented philosophy based on the distinction between problems and solutions, between a given theoretical field and its interpretation in a given system of thought; analysis of philosophic orientations (and trends), and of philosophers' works in their specific dynamics, with attention to departures from extreme forms of idealism (subjectivism, irrationalism), and occasional association with naturalism and even materialism (particularly dialectics); re-examination of the methodology of philosophical criticism in the light of the creative development of actual Marxism as a system of thought, and promotion of their pluralistic understanding; analysis of typical forms (through problems) of the contemporary dialog; the "dialog of humanisms," "dialog of atheisms," "dialog of methodologies" (methodologic models); and illustration of the position and role of Marxist philosophy in achieving the new model of man and of the new socialist culture.

It is not difficult to understand that the critical action in philosophy is fulfilled not only through criticism of another system, but also through critical reflection about one's own problems, one's own system of thought. Theoretical-philosophal research and creation cannot advance any further without this consistent self-criticism. Achieved in the form of a dialog, in the form of a confrontation of ideas (based on ideologic confrontation of course, but not reducible to it), the critical act must not be reduced to "destructive criticism," "destructive blows" (as used to be, and sometimes still is being said when referring to "criticism of the bourgeois philosophy"), but must become a form of participation in exploiting and deriving value (integrating that from which value has been obtained, into a new perspective) from philosophic creation.

In other words, the question of creativity also arises in philosophical criticism, without which the criticism would lose all finality. I believe that in order to understand creativity in philosophical criticism and philosophy itself in its different theoretical configurations (historically successive or parallel), a number of more important theoretical developments are needed, such as the study of theoretical values (equally as values of culture and of historical action) and the formulation of a "philosophy of philosophy" (other than a "metaphilosophy," with "meta" being used in the original, Aristotelian sense of "first principles"); reformulation of "aporetics" ("the science of problem statement") into a theory of philosophy (of philosophy rather than of philosophers); and the formulation of a historical-philosophic methodology and of a philosophical criticism from the standpoint of "comparative philosophy."

Consequently, the study of philosophies also encompasses the principle of historicism and of their differentiation as analogous "facts" in analog contexts, which introduces a sui generis horizontality, a "contemporaneity" which does not coincide with the verticality of the history of the contexts which are being compared. This opens the possibility of "comparison" and implicitly of finding "external sources," influences, priorities.

Independently of how little has been said here about "comparative philosophy," I believe it does show that its shaping into an instrument will place historical-philosophic studies (and obviously the study of philosophies!) in a new light. Springing from the depths of the history of thought, "comparative philosophy" is meant to resignify for today's world, the history of philosophy and the "philosophical process."

I believe that dialog and the confrontation of ideas could be better understood against this background, since they derive simultaneously from the communication and dialog structure of the theoretical-philosophic process, which in fact explains pluralism in the philosophical plane and implicitly the need for a dialog, for defying and confronting ideas, not "abstractly-speculatively," but as an integral part of the dynamics of interests, preferences, and ideals expressed by any theoretical and ideologic viewpoint.

Ion Tudorescu. The discussion about a philosophers' dialog implicitly raises the issue of the theoretical and ideologic aspects of today's confrontation of ideas. Philosophy has always been the inner conscience of an era, the quintessence of human hopes and ideals, and the ideologic infrastructure of action programs for the forces directly involved in the arena of political struggle and causing the pursuit of the fundamental orientations of progress. It is therefore not surprising that the supporters of the alternatives of progress are in fact encountered in the philosophical confrontation of ideas: on one hand the progressive socialist, revolutionary forces, and on the other hand the reactionary, conservative forces, with various intermediate social forces oscillating between them, supporting interests and aspirations that range between the new and the old, between revolution and conservatism.

One can of course object to this argument by saying that we cannot always establish an absolute connection between philosophic discourse and practical political action. Philosophy cannot be reduced to a servant of politics, as it was not merely a servant of theology. But it cannot be denied that philosophic meditation and construction, at times beyond the intentions of those who produce or practice them, have been invoked to establish or motivate such actions, quite often by their protagonists, standing on opposed ideologic positions or barricades. At all times, the great creative figures in philosophy have played such a part of contradictory political finality in their work (Plato and Aristotle, Kant and Hegel, and not least, even Marx and Lenin in our times, support the truth of this statement). Of course, social causes and historical circumstances provoke such contradictory positions between philosophic discourse and political theory and practice, which we do not propose to pursue at this time, being solely interested at this juncture in strengthening our point about the indissoluble bond between philosophy and politics (with specific extenuating circumstances in every era).

The logical-theoretical arguments of science and the ideologic-axiologic influences of art, law, morals, and religion are used to support the formation and consolidation of a given philosophical orientation. Psychologic causes, based on the exposure of human communities or groups to exceptional historical conditions, or on the inheritance of such experiences through racial memory, are not the least issues that cause philosophical controversies. But no matter how great the influence of philosophical concepts and consciousness about the value of science, art, morals, law, or religion, as well as that of psychologic experiences or cultural boundaries built around inherited values, the prevalent factors in theoretical philosophic constructions are economic and political interests, and on their basis, a network of ideologic assumptions; that is why in my opinion, any philosophical confrontation is ultimately an ideologic conflict, emerging from the economic and political interests of a group or community specific to a given era or historical stage.

That is why there can be no question of truce or ideologic compromise in the struggle of ideas in the philosophical arena; philosophical controversies always consist of a conflict between various ideologies or positions within the same fundamental ideology. We must not forget in this respect, that the source of an ideology lies not only in a group, but in a community as well, since we can speak not only about class ideology (and conscience), but also of national ideology (and conscience)--the two finding themselves in complex correlation but also autonomous from each other.

Gh. Al. Cazan: In referring to the question of ideologic life, which has already justifiably been shown to be extremely complex, I do not believe to be exaggerating when I say that nothing which involves human existence, sociopolitical and economic life, as well as the sociologic implications of science and of cultural-artistic movements, escapes the attention of ideologists, independently of their nature and goals, their motives, and the social forces which they want to involve in fulfilling the ideals that they support. That is why ideologies represent one of the great forces of the modern world. The struggle, confrontation, or dialog of ideologies do not merely raise a simple echo in today's conscience, but also install themselves as a result of particularly sophisticated motivations and means, as realities of today's conscience, with effects that are usually of decisive importance for the course and evolution of social life. They are not epiphenomena, random plays of the spirit, but on the contrary, they respond to the needs of existing classes or social groups, they assert and sustain themselves as conceptual, theoretic expressions of needs which in turn can conform or conflict with the objective logic and dialectic of history.

It is impossible to ignore modern ideologies and their overwhelming complexity, because they exist, they confront each other, and they sustain a dialog, according to their nature and their goals. To treat them as a bloc, as is often done in debates organized by various western publications, or to consider them "convergent," is not only a methodological error, but the expression of subjective wishes to hide the crisis of conservative ideologies through their unpermitted equalization with other types of ideologies. Similarly, to estimate as is frequently done by bourgeois ideologists with

reactionary orientations, that all ideologies are in conflict, that they mutually exclude each other, that some, and specifically Marxist ideology, are "utopian" and therefore not viable, and that only their own constructions are valid and efficient, is in our opinion not only an old and outdated ideologic song, but also the expression of the purest theoretical arbitrariness.

The panoply of modern ideologies is not a geometric diagram or an equation with one or two unknowns, and ideologies cannot be reduced to a single ideology. On the contrary, as demonstrated by the reality and movement of ideologic life, ideologies are multiple, and the relationships between them far from linear, as is sometimes believed even by Marxist theoreticians or publishers. Bourgeois ideology is not a unit, bloc ideology, but is differentiated into orientations, currents, and trends which cannot be superimposed. We do not intend here and now, to refer extensively to this phenomenon, but in my opinion it is an error to place on the same plane and consider the entire non-Marxist ideology as a strictly reactionary one, when in fact some non-Marxist ideologists have contributed significantly to solving some of the most important philosophical problems, while others adopt progressive and humanist positions in treating and solving the problem of peace and war, of democratic rights and freedoms, and so on.

An analysis of these currents, orientations, and trends, necessarily implies, as our secretary general, Nicolae Ceausescu has indicated more than once, a critical spirit, scientific objectivity, party orientation, and delicate treatment, as a function of the theoretical and political positions being sustained. In my view, the concept of ideologic struggle is fully valid and must be applied as such in relations between our ideology and the reactionary, conservative bourgeois ideology, in relations with representatives of irrationalism, mysticism, neo-fascism, with supporters of the right wing, war, nationalism, chauvinism, racism, and so on. Dialog and confrontation of ideas are in turn applicable for ideologies which, although non-Marxist, are humanist, democratic, progressive, which support the struggle for peace, nuclear disarmament, and which are critical of racist, elitist, irrational, mystic theories, and so on.

Aculin Cazacu. The validity of critical, constructive intervention with respect to the different contemporary ideologic currents and orientations rests in analyzing them from inside, in unraveling and decodifying their conceptual boundaries, and in characterizing the generic traits they represent, only following such an action. A priori labeling has nothing in common with the penetrating dialectic spirit of the revolutionary concept of the world.

To be sure, the reply is immediate when faced with clear variants of anticommunism, neofascism, or irrationalism (including religious ones). But in this case as well, a system of convincing, lasting, and solid arguments needs to be constructed, to constitute the foundation of an efficient, concluding theoretical-ideologic activity. The imperative nature of the need for argument--in any "ideologic situation"--presupposes conceptual diversity, various logico-methodologic procedures, recourse to facts, which have nothing in common with "ideologic indifference" or "theoretical defeatism."

Ovidiu Trasnea. In a broader principal plane, I would like to note the substantial correspondence between our party's concept of international solidarity and the manner in which theoretic-ideologic and political dialog is conceived and pursued.

This is also the light in which I believe we must view the need to distinguish between the dialog carried out among Marxists, on one hand, and the dialog between Marxism and other currents and trends in sociopolitical thinking, on the other. Starting with the idea of the legitimacy of differing viewpoints, generated by concrete, specific historical contexts, the dialog within Marxist thought is guided by the fact that the different points of view can be understood and exploited positively only by respecting the scientific spirit of Marxism, the principles of equality and mutual respect. At the same time, starting with the fact that no one has a monopoly on truth (and even less on a truth claimed to be absolute, immutable, and intangible), opinions and arguments must be confronted as part of principal, constructive dialog: the supreme argument must not be one of authority, but rather a confrontation with social-historical practice.

In this respect, the secretary general has consistently urged a creative, fertile dialog in social and political sciences, a free confrontation of opinions and ideas, and an anti-conservative, innovative attitude in research. This corresponds to the demands of a policy of creativity, opposed to a policy of dogma, which regards the political process as a source and means for obtaining new knowledge, capable of generating continued renewal, optimizing political leadership action, and stimulating social learning and the improvement of society as a whole.

In turn, dialog with other positions and currents of thought implies the respect of rules of principle. It clearly presupposes, as a sine qua non condition, a knowledge of the concept and viewpoint with which it is being carried out, an approach to the other person's position without preconceived ideas, as well as a willingness to accept that which proves to be of true value in his concept, especially since the purpose of the dialog is to reach closer to the truth and facilitate joint action. Dialog--contrary to real or possible distortions--does not seek the obliteration of boundaries between positions confronting each other, but the discovery of possible points of contact which will fertilize a sincere effort toward truth. The alarm of those who oppose dialog because of a presumed danger of pressure from the "bourgeois, imperialist ideology" on their own positions, is therefore false and damaging. The critical and revolutionary character of Marxism, its creative perfectibility, are also manifested in the ability to assimilate theoretical results and research strategies capable of enriching its revolutionary theory and method.

As I said, Marxism never could and could never develop outside the broad path of the development of human thought as a whole. This is eloquently confirmed by the huge dissemination of Marxist ideas in our era, which would not have been possible without expanding its dialog with other orientations and trends



of progressive, democratic, and humanist thought. Possible and necessary for the indispensable collaboration between Marxists and the other progressive forces of our times, dialog provides a joint and firm engagement in uncovering and fighting reactionary, anti-progressive politico-ideologic positions and currents.

Alexandru Boboc. The present discussions on the development of dialectics as philosophical science are a concrete result of our debate. It has already been said that materialism changes its form with new advances in scientific knowledge, but dialectic materialism--the general methodology of sciences--is today also undergoing a reconstruction process, bringing into the limelight both the applicable values of its category system, and its effective capability to integrate the results of research and reflection about science and philosophy. Of course, this process does not occur independently of the dissemination of new phenomena in science and technology, of the analysis and redefinition of modern logical processes such as semiotics, praxology, systems theory, action theory, and so on, and of a knowledge and evaluation of the real meaning of methodologies formulated in other thought systems.

In this respect, the rapid development in sciences, and particularly in the human sciences, has shown the limits within which available methodologies could be applied to the current western philosophies through the means and ways of specific groups of sciences. This had already indicated the limited nature, both in integration and application, of linguistic and logico-semantic analysis, of structuralism, of phenomenology, hermeneutics, and so on, methods which although operational at particular levels, could not hope to be instituted as part of a general methodology except at the risk of entering into idealistic philosophic systems.

To illustrate this condition, it is significant to briefly describe the relation of dialectic materialism to two of the most characteristic and influential methods formulated in Marxist philosophy: phenomenology and hermeneutics.

We believe that more than the other methods, phenomenology comes with an understanding of the cosubstantiality of the moments of the domain's method and structure, an understanding which echoes Hegel's famous formulation: "Method is nothing else than the structure of the whole, displayed in its pure essentiality." Phenomenology offers greater possibilities for freeing thought from reductionism, as well as possibilities for a unitary, dialectic conception of the subject and object, of methodology and ontology. The idea of the cogito-cogitatum unity, as well as the concepts of "intersubjectivity" and "life's world (Lebenswelt)" offer theoretical foundations for the above-mentioned unity, and attempt to transpose the unity into a plan of ideas, of interaction between man and the world, theory and practice, at the level of the individual, of the concrete person, given in factual contexts, which only through his (man's) work succeeds in presenting itself as a "world." However, the great difficulty of the method's phenomenological model is its aspiration to universality, to its validity as method of philosophy. But to the extent to which it has been and is opposed to positivist and

scientific limitation, as well as to the speculative (especially Hegelian) model of dialectics, coming with the requirement of orientation toward facts and of establishing theoretico-philosophic domains, the phenomenological method remains a useful experience of contemporary thought. That is why it cannot be subordinated to the global dialectics of knowledge and action, no matter how many reservations are expressed by phenomenologists themselves toward such a situation in the phenomenological method.

In the same light of operative procedures in concrete contexts, with the function of mediating the action of the category system, I believe that we must also consider "philosophic hermeneutics," which is primarily opposed to positivism and scientism. Hermeneutics also comes with a few requirements that belong to dialectics, namely: requirement of totality as unit in the plurality of experience, orientation toward the "human existence" which can never be a gnoseologic subject by itself, but only with others ("the world," history). But what hermeneutics is lacking, is not as has been said (Habermas), the overload placed on "tradition," but rather man-demiurge, as Marx has said, a real individual and social being at the same time; insofar as man is the creator of his own history, the historical awareness of this fact can take the form of a "theory of experience," and in general the form of "theory."

Unquestionably, both divergent and convergent elements can be detected between hermeneutics and dialectics, between phenomenology and dialectics, between structuralism and dialectics, and so on, against the background of the contemporary methodologic pluralism, which must itself be considered in a dialectic manner. However, the relations remain primarily complementary and not exclusive. That is why I believe that in the last decades we have seen a trend on the part of phenomenologists, structuralists, hermeneutics representatives, as well as as disciples of other methodologic models, to accept various tenets of dialectics, and even attempt to solve difficulties by calling upon this method. In fact, as shown by the examples given above, the specific procedures and means of other methodologies prove to be most effective only if they can be subordinated and integrated--with the necessary discernment--into the action of the category system of dialectics. In particular, the human sciences have felt the need to consider some special methods and to use them in the light of dialectics and historical determinism.

The contemporary methodologic pluralism, as a real fact generated by a multitude of research fields and by the high level of problem statement demanded by the action of mathematics, semiotics, praxology, of the modern means of analysis and formalization, must thus be analyzed and explained in a dialectic spirit, because dialectic materialism serves the function of a genuine Organon, of a general methodology of sciences, and at the same time, of scientific criterion for evaluating human creation in our era. It should be pointed out however, that the possibility of a complementary perspective in the contemporary methodology must not lead to a violation of the irreducibility principle and of domain autonomy for methods in this case. In this respect, even when reconstructed with the means of analysis (phenomenologic, hermeneutic, and so on), dialectics remains a separate way of thinking, even a

separate style of thinking (which better shows the irreducibility of the dialectic process), and it would be nonsensical to speak of "analytic dialectics," "phenomenological dialectics," and so on. The fact that the methods involved can or cannot show dialectic aspects is another thing. On the other hand, the modeling of dialectics in the context of dialectic and historical materialism must itself be viewed in a historical sense, and beyond the formulations of Marx, Engels, and Lenin (but as a continuation, of course!), and the Marxist research that has brought about a synthesis, a modern modeling of dialectic materialism must be taken into consideration.

The phenomenon is of course complex and no one can pretend to have said everything there is to say in this respect! In any case, the present conditions in the study of dialectics require an effort at generalization, conceptualization, and problem statement, designed to lead to an assertion of this field, to a separate profile, beyond synthesis and integration of the results of knowledge, behavior, and action, and beyond the operation of special methods.

Ion Tudosescu. Seen in the light of dialectic and historic materialism, of the revolutionary concept of the world and of life promoted by the RCP, philosophic confrontation does not exclude but presupposes a dialog of ideas, because confronting each other on the philosophic plane are not only radically opposite ideologies, but in the contemporary philosophic landscape and climate, and especially in our era, also the ideologies of intermediary social forces or of forces undergoing a process of political radicalization and ideologic clarification, resulting from the current economic and class restructuring in contemporary societies. There are also cases in which differing (and even opposed) social forces have temporary or partial joint interests, especially of a community or intercommunity nature. All of these are sufficient reasons to postulate the need for dialog in the struggle of ideas in contemporary philosophy.

Arguing in favor of dialog, as we have heard here, is also the methodologic aspect of philosophic discourse, since it is known that problems in knowledge theory, in the theory of truth, in the philosophy of language, and to a large extent even in general ontology, are always stated and solved in the spirit and paradigms of scientific knowledge, just as they are structured as a function of the philosophic presuppositions of the times.

Dialog and the exchange of ideas or values with other philosophic orientations--consistently promoted in the practice of our philosophical discourse by the RCP--have nothing in common with what could be called "compromise" or ideologic "confusionism." In this regard, the principles of dialog in the present struggle of ideas promoted by our party presuppose a consistent, intransigent ideologic confrontation of revolutionary militancy, as well as an unswerving care to maintain the fundamental substance and sense of the classic working class ideology, and the basic tenets of the theory and method of dialectic and historic materialism.

It is true that some Marxist thinkers of older or newer schools--oscillating between extreme positions--either lock themselves into a so-called "pure" Marxist interpretation, considered to be "immune" to the influences of other currents of thought (resulting from their value content and from dialog with them), or (because of a failure to understand the limits and meanings of these dialogs) succeed in practicing their spirit and methods, thus deviating from the ideologic and methodologic substance of dialectic and historic materialism.

As we know, equally unsuitable for the lively and consistently scientific spirit of dialectic and historic materialism, for its specific ideologic positions (this time derived from a unilateral understanding of the creative and open nature of this philosophy), are dogmatism and revisionism. While the first alternative freezes Marxist philosophy into fixed patterns leading to theoretical and ideologic ossification, to the orientation of philosophic discourse outside the contemporary frame (with all the negative, antisocial, and anti-human consequences that ensue for economic, political, and social practice), the second alternative, through the intermediary of sophistic and speculative procedures, and by practicing the principle of creative development without theoretico-ideologic consistency, succeeds in altering the ideologic and theoretical substance of the principle, and at times even its ideologic content--which ultimately is equivalent to abandoning the current class positions of dialectic and historic materialism.

In analyzing the present modes for the creative practice of dialectic and historic materialism, one must proceed with great critical discernment. Labeling and blaming some creative positions in this field, qualifying them as revisionist or subjectivist, as deviations from the fundamental principles of Marxism, and placing them in the same plane as today's non-Marxist ideologic positions, has no justification. Especially since these practices at times derive from positions that are often dogmatic and schematic, in which true Marxism is reduced to the letter of its classic works rather than to their living substance and creative horizons.

That is why we believe that no justification whatever exists for someone's privileged right to decree the ultimate truth in matters of dialectic and historic materialism. More than ever, the need is being felt for open debate, for lively dialog, and for substantial contributions to the creative development of revolutionary theory--the only one which conforms to the spirit of the times, and which is open without limits to life, practice, contemporaneity, and social progress.

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# NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT IN TRAINING OF INFORMATION PROCESSING SPECIALISTS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 25 Nov 83 pp 42-45

[Article by Dorin Moldoveanu]

[Text] The installation of the national information processing system--a complex and long range objective established by our party--brings the technologies of the second industrial revolution into all socioeconomic processes, thus greatly increasing labor productivity and efficiency in all activities. The creation and introduction of the national information processing system imposes a consistent activity to assure the human resources needed in this area. The foundations of a systematic training and upgrading activity for data processing personnel were laid by the formulation--under the direct guidance of Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the party--of the "Program to Improve the Socioeconomic Information Processing System, Introduce Management Systems that Use Automatic Information Processing, and Endow the Economy with Computer Technology During the 1971-1980 Period," adopted by a Decision of the Central Committee of the RCP of April 1972. As a result of this program, our country has passed through an essential stage in the development of computer technology and its use in various areas of activity.

The formulation and application of a unified program for information processing instruction at all levels, stressing the forms which lead to specializations, skills, and knowledge required at each stage of development, thus becomes an important factor for higher labor productivity. At the plenary session of the National Council for Science and technology of June 1983, Dr Elena Ceausescu pointed out that "at the present stage, higher productivity, quality, and efficiency at established levels can be assured only by the general use and massive introduction in all areas of activity, of technical progress and of the most recent advances of the contemporary technical and scientific revolution, both for technical applications and for a better organization of labor." In this context, the upgrading of personnel training in information processing assumes extremely important tasks, since this field plays a basic role in the introduction of technical progress.

As a result of encouraging an educational strategy directed toward the acquisition of the newest advances in science and technology, our country now has a personnel with the technical qualification necessary for the proper

exploitation of the leading field represented by information processing, as well as the capability to integrate in all spheres of activity, the techniques and resources of information processing. The Central Institute for Management and Information Processing (ICCI), as coordinator of all information processing activities, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, provides guidance, coordination, and control for the instruction and education process in universities and high schools specializing in information processing, which operate under a double jurisdiction, as well as for the teaching of intensive specialization courses organized through its own training center and other information processing units.

An examination of the major aspects of the types, forms, and content of professional training and upgrading activities in information processing, requires a definition of the viewpoint adopted toward the status of information processing. Is information processing a specialization, a profession, a subject of study, is it an instrument or a means for solving problems, has information processing become an industrial field, or can it be considered as a mental orientation specific to a given stage of socioeconomic development? Actually, all these characterizations are organically combined within information processing, and stressing one or the other of these possible views entails particular associations of training programs with the professional specialties of those for whom they are intended, and with the facilities used for the training.

A necessary condition for achieving information processing systems which efficiently solve problems for optimizing activities in a given field, is the existence of a so-called "critical mass" of experience and knowledge regarding the technology and operation of that field, the computers and processes associated with them, the particular features of activity organization, and the interdependences that arise among these elements. The acquisition of the necessary experience and knowledge demands the use of an appropriate strategy for training specialists, a strategy adapted to each stage of development.

Thus, the creation of information processing infrastructures at a national level on the basis of a vast effort carried out here during the eighth decade, has demanded the training of a large number of information processing specialists for all levels of activity. In keeping with this demand, beginning in 1971, information processing training through specialized studies in higher education, followed the natural convergence of the major domains involved: engineering (to achieve and improve the technologic basis as well as industrial, technical, and scientific applications); economic studies (to achieve, exploit, and maintain management applications, and to rationalize the flow of information); and mathematics (for modeling, optimization, specialized languages, and operational research).

The automation schools of polytechnic institutes have created computer departments which have trained engineers to design, build, and maintain the entire range of computers produced in Romania, programmable terminals, and associated systems. The remarkable achievements obtained with this generation of highly qualified technicians refutes the theory that in assimilating the

"information revolution," developing nations should limit themselves to learning how to use the computer equipment and systems designed and manufactured in technologically advanced countries. Our country's experience thus demonstrates that the training of students, future computer specialists, with analytic programs similar to those used in the higher education systems of developed countries--even within the objectively imposed need to reduce narrow specializations in higher education--is a guarantee for maintaining a high level of technical competence among the specialists involved in the building of computer systems. The education of highly trained specialists in this domain contributes directly to closing the gap that is still being felt here with respect to the most advanced achievements in microelectronics throughout the world.

The outstanding achievements obtained in the production of computer equipment and systems can be exploited only through a very sustained effort at formulation, utilization, and maintenance of associated applied programs. Today, the specialists needed for this purpose (applications programmers, analysts, systems engineers) are considered throughout the world as an "essential" resource which determines the rate of dissemination of information processing applications.

The efficiency of personnel training in a field such as information processing is determined by the coverage of an entire range of specializations, as well as by the planning of levels of competence judiciously distributed and sustained through appropriate forms and means of qualification. In general, the structure of teams for computer system design and implementation includes analysts and programmers with high and intermediate education. Computer technology operating teams in information processing units consist of systems engineers and various categories of computer equipment operators.

To meet the need for personnel with intermediate education, Romania began computer training in high schools specialized in this subject, as early as 1971, with six high schools specializing in information processing existing at this time (Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Brasov, Iasi, Petrosani, and Timisoara). More than 40 percent of the time scheduled for training programs is dedicated to information processing topics and to practical instruction on computer equipment belonging to the schools and to other information processing units. In order to assure the training of specialists with a broader range of knowledge, all the specialized topics are compulsory, so that a graduate from a computer high school can work with good results in any of the specialized function areas.

ICCI is constantly concerned with updating specialized training, and assures that first and second stage graduates are assigned to production. In addition to specialized training, computer high school graduates are also assured a general education which allows them to aim at any profession through higher education. As we have observed throughout the years, a large part of the graduates continue their higher education in computers with very good results.

Given the rate of development of information processing in Romania during the creation of the information processing infrastructure, the number of specialists trained in the specialized higher education and high school network has proven to be insufficient. That is why a large part of the training of specialists in this category has also been achieved through unit programs taught by ICCI.

The training of personnel specialized in information processing through intensive courses began in 1970, and has developed continuously in keeping with the increasingly greater demand imposed by the endowment of the economy with computer technology, and the establishment of various information processing units. The growing demand to train specialists and users in information processing, both for specialization and for upgrading and updating their knowledge to match the extremely rapid evolution of the field, has led to the establishment in 1979, of the Center for Upgrading Information Processing Personnel (CPPI) as part of ICCI. The creation of this center was based on the existence of a nucleus of highly qualified and experienced instructors.

At present, the center practices an open and hierarchical specialization system, suitable for any level of knowledge previously achieved by the students. Four large categories are used to train personnel with high and intermediate education: introduction to information processing; use of computer equipment; specialization in information processing functions; and upgrading of specialists. A great diversity of courses are offered within these categories, adapted to the utilization of Romanian equipment, to learning new technical developments, and to sharpening specialization within professional areas, with particular attention being devoted to priorities in the development of the national economy. The content of analytical programs in the courses, and the use of modern teaching methods seek a unified methodologic orientation in designing computer systems and computer programs, in order to continue to increase labor productivity in information processing. At the same time, the area of computer applications in the management of technical production processes is constantly being widened.

The concern for adapting training to the need for modernizing socioeconomic activities through information processing--demonstrated by the content of education and upgrading in this area--is also reflected in the professional orientation of the four instruction collectives of the center. For instance, the collective "Planning Information Processing Systems for Industrial Process Control" seeks to provide theoretical and practical instruction in equipment utilization and exploitation; in planning industrial process control applications; in designing, exploiting, and maintaining remote processing applications; in teaching techniques for designing, manufacturing, and exploiting products to interconnect computer systems; in developing familiarity with, formulating, and using computer programs for real time applications; and so on.



The collective "Computer Assisted Modeling and Design" offers courses and activities of theoretical and practical instruction in modeling industrial products, in modeling information processing systems, in computer assisted technical design, in computer assisted construction design, in interactive graphics, and so on.

The collective "Design of Information Processing Systems for Economic Management" trains and upgrades all categories of personnel in the design and utilization of management computer systems, using minicomputers, microcomputers, and large and intermediate capacity Felix computer systems.

The collective "Formulation of Specialized Computer Programs" carries out theoretical and practical instruction in data bases and data-base management systems, and formulates specialized programs to modernize training activities through the introduction of computer assisted instruction.

An important role in the activity of the CPPI is played by courses conducted at the locations of various users, courses structured as a function of users' needs. Insofar as the demand for training is generally greater than the capabilities of the center, ICCI also assigns training tasks to some territorial computer centers and to other information processing units, assuring unity of content for their activities.

ICCI is devoting great attention to training courses for information processing specialists, and to their constant adaptation to present and future needs. This is a most important and current problem because, as Nicolae Ceausescu indicated in the report to the national Conference of December 1982, qualification upgrading "constitutes an imperative need for properly solving the large problems in the development of the national economy."

During 1982, 50 percent of those trained by the center took courses to upgrade their professional training; about 20 percent courses aimed at the utilization of computer equipment, many of them being instructed in the use of mini and microcomputers manufactured in Romania; and approximately 10 percent completed introductory courses of familiarization with the field. Only 20 percent of the students became qualified in 1982 to effectively perform information processing functions. Their training actually represented a professional requalification associated with the modernization of activities in socioeconomic units. Compared to the 1976-1980 five-year plan, a period during which attention was focused on the training of specialized personnel, this activity has been reduced at present, because following the joint efforts of educational units in the Ministry of Education and Instruction, and of specialization through intensive training programs for personnel with intermediate and higher education, it has been deemed that sufficient personnel has been assured with the qualification necessary for the present level of endowment and applications development.

Given the very rapid rate of innovation in the information processing field (the volume of specialized knowledge doubles in less than five years), sustained attention is given to completing and updating the knowledge of all specialists through upgrading programs with appropriate content and schedules.

The secretary general of the party, Nicolae Ceausescu, has repeatedly drawn attention to the fact that "at the present time, higher personnel qualification and training represents in fact one of the essential problems of our industry and of all sectors of activity." In keeping with these demands, a program outline was prepared to improve the training of all categories of workers in ICCI and in territorial computer centers. This program places special emphasis on particular aspects in the development, implementation, and maintenance of industrial applications using domestic computer equipment and systems.

The largest proportion of activities are those based on individual study under the guidance of collective leaders. As part of this program, the first stage of a vast action to train specialized personnel in territorial computer centers was started in 1983 for industrial information processing. This action represents the first trial, crowned with success, at initiating training upgrading for an advanced area of information processing through individual correspondence studies, complemented with intensive, short term experience in multidisciplinary teams of teaching, research, design, and implementation. Another widely used form of upgrading consists of professional seminars in work collectives, a situation which allows a confrontation of solutions and critical opinions from the entire collective, even during initial design phases.

According to its tasks, ICCI will continue to assure--in step with the development of information processing equipment and socioeconomic units--the proper training of specialized personnel through high school and higher education, as well as through intensive courses, concurrent with the upgrading of specialists working in this field to the most recent achievements of science and technology.

The high technologic level in the solution of various problems is now increasingly determined by the ability to use domestic information processing resources. By definition, the information processing field is an open one, involving the user even at the system design phase, and the efficiency with which information processing is used depends on the user's acceptance, and implicitly familiarization, with different specific means and techniques. The acquisition of this second competence--in information processing--becomes an essential condition for the computerization of socioeconomic structures as part of a rapid introduction of technologic progress.

As early as 1979, ICCI began formulating analytical programs for "Applied Mathematics in Computer Technology," addressing itself to students in mathematics-physics high schools. The next stage assumes the expansion of information processing knowledge to high schools with other specialities, both through the introduction of distinct orientations, and through the use of means and techniques specific to information processing, in general education and specialized topics. This implies a vast and conjugated effort to train information processing teaching personnel, concurrent with the formulation and distribution in schools, of specialized computer systems adapted to the educational and instruction process.

In technical-scientific and economic higher education, teaching programs stipulate initiations into the use of computer technology for various professional fields, initiations whose analytical programs are approved by ICCI after extensive consultation with specialists. A number of scientific meetings and discussions on current problems in the training of highly qualified personnel, have heard proposals to diversify the information processing training of future users beginning as early as their school years. In this case, along with appropriate equipment endowment and a stronger role on the part of computer centers in higher education units, there arises the problem of extending the capabilities of teaching personnel, in the sense of using computers to teach subjects and work on projects. The acquisition of a second competence during basic education (intermediate and higher education) implies the consideration of a long time period (5-10 years) until this new competence is exploited in socioeconomic processes.

A special role in hastening the rate of distribution of information processing has been and will continue to be played by intensive training programs specially intended for users. Many of these forms of training are short programs which assure an active and rapid exchange of information in very current fields, with direct interaction and integration of instruction activities with research, development, design, and implementation of computer systems and products. The presentation of computer programs as well as case studies and concrete applications, directly by those who formulate them, are proving to be very efficient in introducing information processing into many areas.

User training programs are conducted at ICCI, at other information processing units, and even at various users' locations, with efficient exploitation of applications in production. Conceived in a modular fashion, with gradual stages of learning difficulty, oriented by type of equipment and field of activity, these programs are designed to train users at all levels--beginning with decision making personnel and ending with operators--are becoming an increasingly large component in CPPI's teaching activity.

The integration of computers in the teaching process--through the use of computer assisted instruction systems formulated at ICCI--is meant to facilitate unbiased contact between man and machine, and to enrich the range of computer applications.

As a mental orientation, information processing will be seen as a new way of thinking--computer thinking--that needs to be implemented in all generations. At the same time, as in the case of languages, information processing must be studied less for its own sake and more for its usefulness in everyday life, transforming the very nature of labor. Behind all computerized mechanisms and equipment, there will always be teams of design, manufacturing, and maintenance specialists.

The future civilization will be a computerized one, which at a higher level as part of the education-information processing relationship, will be called upon to support the flow of values as well as the contacts and interferences of cultures, so that differences associated with their appearances, development, and manifestations will be overcome with the aid of information processing--the bearer of a universal language associated with the constant effort at improving the quality of life.

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